



SELECTIONS  
FROM  
THE RECORDS  
OF THE  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
HOME DEPARTMENT.)

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N° V.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE OPERATIONS  
FOR THE  
SUPPRESSION OF HUMAN SACRIFICE  
AND  
FEMALE INFANTICIDE,  
IN THE  
HILL TRACTS OF ORISSA.

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HILL TRACTS OF ORISSA,  
**Compiled from Official Correspondence, from the years  
1836 to 1854.**

PART I.  
THE OPERATIONS OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT.

MR. RUSSELL, of the Madras Civil Service, the Officer so much distinguished by the settlement of two distinct insurrections, one in Goomsur, and the other in the similar zemindary of Purla Kimeddy, was the first person who discovered the existence of the rite of human sacrifice among the Khonds, which he brought to the notice of Government in his first Report on the affairs of Goomsur, dated 12th August 1836, in the following passage, descriptive of his visit to their country :—

“ The change from Goomsur to the colder climate and open country of the table land, where the hills are bare of jungle, the inhabitants infinitely more numerous, and their houses greatly superior to those below, was very striking. Their language differs from that of all other classes, and is understood by very few lowlanders. The women, so far as we were able to judge from the few we saw, are very plain; the men remarkably well made and active, of a good height, and generally speaking, good looking. The only dress worn by the latter, is a cloth bound round the middle in such a way as to make the end hang down behind, about as low as the

Extract from Mr. Russell's Report, dated 12th August 1836—Describes the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the hill tracts of Goomsur, and mentions the existence of human sacrifice.

flaps of a coat. Their hair is tied in a knot on the temple, or forehead, which they are fond of ornamenting with a band of red woollen cloth ; or if they cannot get that, with cloth of any other colour, or even paper. Every man carries an axe, and the far greater part of them, a bow and arrows also. Not only every tribe, but every village has its chief chosen, not from any hereditary claim, but because he is the best soldier, or the best spokesman of the day. Like other nations, they have their feuds, and frequently war with their neighbours. Head for head is their universal law. Their love of liquor and tobacco is excessive. The fruit of the Ippa tree affords them a very strong spirit, and a palm, peculiar to their country, yields a toddy, which though pleasant when fresh, is extremely intoxicating in a fermented state. They draw no milk from any description of cattle, yet they have none of the ordinary prejudices of caste, and eat any thing except the dog, domestic cat, beasts of prey, vulture, kite and snake. Among the tribes to the westward of Sooradah,\* the destruction of female children is common, I believe I may say general. The expense attending the marriage rites is said to be the motive of this cruel custom. They purchase their women from other parts of the country, without reference to their parentage. The same practice does not exist in the Maliahs† subject to Goomsur, but the barbarous ceremony of human sacrifices exists there, and among many of the neighbouring tribes, and is of annual occurrence. In some places the victims are of both sexes, in others males only.”‡

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\* Kottingiah, Boonce, Goladayee, Tarabandy, Jiddoobody, &c.

† Hills.

‡ In this, and in most of the other extracts throughout this compilation, only so much of the writer's observations have been retained, as bear immediately upon the matter in hand. The compiler was ordered to prepare a succinct history of the operations for the suppression of the rite of human sacrifice, from the official correspondence in the Government records. It seemed to him that the simplest, as well as the most satisfactory mode of carrying out this object, was to state every event that occurred, and every proposition that was suggested, as far as possible in the very words, in which the officers concerned, conveyed them. But, as the despatches from which these papers have been selected, often contained information of which the Government was already in possession from other sources ; and also often entered into matters relating to the management of these districts, entirely unconnected with the subject of human sacrifices, it was found that it would be impossible to publish the letters of the several Officers in extenso, without swelling the compilation to a bulk, far exceeding the limits of an ordinary selection. It is believed that the original reports and despatches have been curtailed of nothing of any public interest ; and in the extracts throughout, the actual words of the several narrators have been scrupulously retained ; except in a few unimportant instances, where it has been found necessary slightly to vary the text, in order to carry on uninterruptedly the thread of the narrative.

The Madras Government, in their letter to Mr. Russell, acknowledging the receipt of his Report and the valuable information it contained, observed, that they considered it "very desirable that measures should be taken for procuring the abolition of the practices of infanticide and human sacrifice, stated to exist among the tribes to the westward of Sooradah, and in the Maliahs, subject to Goomsur respectively. Wherever British influence already prevailed, or could be newly introduced, it should be vigorously exercised for the suppression of these barbarous rites, and the Governor in Council requested the particular attention of Mr. Russell to this point."

On the 11th May 1837, Mr. Russell, in a further Report on the dis-

tricts entrusted to his control, wrote as follows on the subject of human sacrifices:—"The ceremonies attending this barbarous rite, and still more the mode of destroying life, vary in different parts of the country. In the Maliahs of Goomsur, the sacrifice is offered annually to Thadha Pennoo, (the earth) under the effigy of a bird intended to represent a peacock, with the view of propitiating the deity to grant favourable seasons and crops. The ceremony is performed at the expense of, and in rotation by certain Mootahs,\* composing a community, and connected together from local circumstances. It was not possible to ascertain the number of places in which these sacrifices take place, but they are understood to be very numerous. Besides these periodical sacrifices, others are made by single Mootahs, and even by individuals, to avert any threatening calamity from sickness, murrain, or other cause. It is believed that the victims may be of any caste, sex, or age. Grown men are the most esteemed, because the most costly; children are purchased and reared for years with the family of the person who ultimately devotes them to a cruel death, when circumstances are supposed to demand a sacrifice at his hands. They seem to be treated with kindness, and if young, are kept under no constraint, but when old enough to be sensible of the fate that awaits them, they are placed in fetters, and guarded. A girl made her way to Mr. Stevenson's camp at Patirilingia with irons on her legs. There appears to be no difficulty in procuring victims. Most of those who were rescued had been sold by their parents or nearest relations, a practice, which from all we could

Extract from Mr Russell's Report of the 11th May 1837—He enters fully into the subject of human sacrifice, describes the ceremony, mentions rescue of 29 victims by Captain Millar and Mr. Stevenson. States his views as to the best mode of effecting the abolition of this barbarous practice—is of opinion that Government should exert its moral influence rather than its power.

in rotation by certain Mootahs,\* composing a community, and connected together from local circumstances. It was not possible to ascertain the number of places in which these sacrifices take place, but they are understood to be very numerous. Besides these periodical sacrifices, others are made by single Mootahs, and even by individuals, to avert any threatening calamity from sickness, murrain, or other cause. It is believed that the victims may be of any caste, sex, or age. Grown men are the most esteemed, because the most costly; children are purchased and reared for years with the family of the person who ultimately devotes them to a cruel death, when circumstances are supposed to demand a sacrifice at his hands. They seem to be treated with kindness, and if young, are kept under no constraint, but when old enough to be sensible of the fate that awaits them, they are placed in fetters, and guarded. A girl made her way to Mr. Stevenson's camp at Patirilingia with irons on her legs. There appears to be no difficulty in procuring victims. Most of those who were rescued had been sold by their parents or nearest relations, a practice, which from all we could

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\* Districts.

learn, is very common. Persons of riper age are kidnapped by wretches who trade in human flesh. The victim must always be purchased, criminals or prisoners captured in war, are not considered fitting subjects : the price is paid indifferently in brass utensils, cattle or corn. The zanee or priest (who may be of any caste) officiates at the sacrifice, but he performs the Poojah (offering of incense, flowers, &c.,) to the idol through the medium of the "Toomba," who must be a Khond child under 7 years of age. This child is fed and clothed at the public expense, eats with no other person, and is subjected to no act deemed impure. For a month prior to the sacrifice, there is much feasting and intoxication and dancing round the "Meriah" (victim) who is adorned with garlands, &c., and on the day before the performance of the barbarous rite, is stupified with toddy, and made to sit, or if necessary, is bound at the bottom of a post, bearing the effigy above described. The assembled multitude then dance around to music, and addressing the earth say, "O God we offer the sacrifice to you, give us good crops, seasons and health," after which they address the victim, "we bought you with a price, and did not seize you ; now we sacrifice you according to custom, and no sin rests on us." On the following day, the victim being again intoxicated and anointed with oil, each individual present touches the anointed part, and wipes the oil on his own head, all then proceed in procession around the village and its boundaries, preceded by music, bearing the victim, and a pole, to the top of which is attached a tuft of peacock's feathers. On returning to the post which is always placed near the village deity called "Zakaree Pennoo," and represented by three stones, near which the brass effigy in the shape of the peacock is buried, they kill a hog in sacrifice, and having allowed the blood to flow into a pit prepared for the purpose, the victim who, if it has been found possible, has been previously made senseless from intoxication, is seized and thrown in, and his face pressed down, until he is suffocated in the bloody mire, amid the noise of instruments. The zanee then cuts a piece of flesh from the body, and buries it with ceremony near the effigy, and village idol, as an offering to the earth ; all the rest afterwards go through the same form, and carry the bloody prize to their villages, where the same rites are performed, part being interred near the village idol, and little bits on the boundaries. The head and face remain untouched, and the bones when bare, are buried with them in the pit. After this horrid ceremony has been completed, a buffalo calf is brought in front of the post, and his fore feet having been cut off, is left there till the following day. Women dressed in male attire and

armed as men, then drink, dance and sing round the spot, the calf is killed and eaten, and the zanee (priest) is dismissed with a present of rice, and a hog or calf. Of the many ways in which the unhappy victim is destroyed in different parts, that just described is perhaps the least cruel. In Streecampooram and Guddapooram in the Maliahs of Chinna Kimeedy, the effigy represents the elephant, and there as in part of the Goomsur Maliahs (hills) also, the flesh is cut off when the unfortunate creature is still alive. I have understood that in Jeyapore, Kalahandee and Bustar, the victims are supplied by seizing inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces.

“ Captain Millar of the 43rd Regiment, when at Coopauty in Gullery, managed with much discretion to rescue no less than twelve victims. Seventeen more fell into Mr. Stevenson's hands. A girl who made her escape to that gentleman's camp, disappeared after a few days, and he could never learn more of her; of the remainder, ten were restored to their friends, and eighteen children, from three to ten years of age, whose homes it has been impossible to trace, still remain with Mr. Stevenson, and Captain Millar.

“ The best mode of effecting the abolition of this barbarous practice, is a question of much difficulty. There is perhaps no subject on which we need to be more on our guard, lest our feelings carry us beyond the bounds of sound discretion. To form a just opinion of its importance, and of the line of policy which it is proper for the Government to adopt, it is necessary to keep in mind that besides the Khond districts of Cuttack, and those under this Presidency, commencing southward with Jeyapore, and extending beyond the Mahanuddee, it embraces also many parts of the Nagpore provinces, and a large belt of territory hitherto independent.

“ No one is more anxious for the discontinuance of the barbarous custom than myself, but I am strongly impressed with the belief that it can be accomplished only by slow and gradual means. We must not allow the cruelty of the practice to blind us to the consequences of too rash a zeal in our endeavours to suppress it. The superstitions of ages cannot be eradicated in a day. The people with whom we have to deal, have become known to us only within the last few months, and our intercourse has been confined to a very small portion of a vast population, among the greater part of whom the same rites prevail, and of whose country and language we may be said to know almost nothing. We must not shut our eyes to the fact, that, although we may desire to limit our interference to the territory owing subjection to us, any measure of coercion would arouse the jealousy of a whole race, possessing the strongest

feelings of clanship, and whatever may be their dissensions in ordinary life, likely to make common cause in support of their common religion.

“But supposing even that the consequences of our interference could be restricted within our own territory, in what way is it to be enforced? Let us take, for example, the upper Maliahs of Goomsur, a very inconsiderable, and now the best known portion of the whole, we have no troops within that range, and the Bissyes (Hindu Chiefs) the only people who could possibly be expected to second our views, have only a few peons, on whom they could rely on such an occasion. The great mass of their subjects are Khonds. Their influence is the moral effect of habit not of physical power. Men thus situated cannot be expected to aid in the compulsory abolition of a custom which all the surrounding tribes hold sacred. The victims rescued by our parties were taken at the close of the last campaign, when our arms were triumphant, and our troops were still on the spot; but even then the Bissyes were afraid to appear openly to assist us. The state of things is now entirely changed; the withdrawal of our force has left them to their own resources, and it would be little short of madness in them to take an active part without the support of Government, pledged for the future, as well as for the present. The same observation applies to the zemindars on both sides the border. Are the Government prepared to give this pledge, and to engage in an undertaking, which, to be effectual to the end in view, must lead to the permanent occupation of an immense territory, and involve us in a war with people with whom we have now no connexion, and no cause for quarrel, in a climate inimical to the constitutions of strangers, and at an expense which no human foresight can calculate? It is not possible that the Maliahs generally could ever be brought to yield a revenue worth having, and it should be remembered that any revenue derived from those under zemindars, belongs of right to them, and not to the Government.

“But setting aside all considerations of policy and expediency, and regarding the question as one of humanity only, would it be consistent with that principle, to pursue a course towards a wild race, ignorant of our manners and character, and unable to appreciate our motives, which would leave them no choice but the immediate abandonment of ceremonies interwoven with their religion, or an appeal to arms against our authority? Of the result of reducing them to such an alternative, or of the fearful sacrifice of life from sword and sickness, which would thence ensue, there can be no doubt, but it is, I think, more than doubtful whether the desired object

could ever be attained by such measures. From all I have seen of them, and known of their country, I feel convinced that no system of coercion can succeed; but on the contrary, that the attempt would greatly increase the difficulties of the undertaking, by engendering fear and distrust, where it should be our endeavour to inspire confidence and good-will. It is too much to expect them to believe that our interference, if quietly permitted, will be restricted to this point alone.

“ The prejudices of caste have little influence among them. There is therefore less drawback to a free intercourse with them than with any other people on this side of India; and there seems every reason to hope that this peculiarity in their national character, and their taste for foreign productions, by leading to more frequent and unreserved communication with the Officers of Government, and the inhabitants of the low country, and thus extending their knowledge, will gradually wean them from this barbarous superstition, more especially as even among their own caste, the rite, though very general, is not an universal practice. It has no existence in Degee, Gooloodoze Boree, the Maliahs of Bodoghodo, Coroda, or Sooradah. It is true, that this is a very confined tract compared with the great extent of territory wherein it prevails, but the exception, small as it is, is a fortunate circumstance, and seems to offer a better ground-work for our exertions, than remonstrances to be enforced by the sword.

“ Hitherto it has been the policy of the British Government to avoid taking any part in the internal broils of the hill zemindars, and their subjects, who have been left to settle their differences in their own way; and hence the struggle which has long been going on, and still continues, between the Rajas of Duspulla and Boad, and some of the Khond tribes in their respective districts. If it be now determined to require these tributaries, and others similarly situated, to interfere in the religious observances of the Khonds, I do not see how the Government could refuse to support them, at whatever risk, and whatever the other causes of difference which may exist between them. Generally speaking, they possess no real authority in the Maliahs, and their own means are totally unequal to their subjugation.

“ In cases where it may be possible to effect the deliverance of victims intended for sacrifice without the use of violence, the opportunity should of course be taken advantage of. In Chokapand, and perhaps parts of Duspalla, for instance, it may be hoped that the establishment of our power in Goomsur, and the ready support which can be afforded to those chieftains will give them confidence to second the efforts of the public



officers ; but I cannot believe that any thing short of the complete conquest of the country could accomplish the sudden suppression of the practice above the ghauts, or in the Maliahs generally. The annual movement of detachments of troops with a view to the capture and punishment of the perpetrators of the crime can never be effectual, even in the most open parts. Still less could it be so among the mountains of Chinna Kimedya, and with the whole population against them, their means of acquiring information would be very circumscribed, and their influence would extend little beyond the lines of their encampments. In the late service in Goomsur, the names, connexions and haunts of all the Khond leaders were known to us before operations commenced, and the bordering people of Buddudesh, who have for years been at war with the insurgent Mootahs, willingly gave us every intelligence in their power, and shut them out from a retreat in that direction. If with these advantages, we found it difficult to discover their hiding places, and when at length successful, owed our success, in most instances, to the submission of the *people* who unable to continue the contest longer, sued for peace and forgiveness by delivering them up, how much greater would be the difficulty where there could be no previous knowledge of the individuals to be sought, and the criminals, even if known, would find friends and shelter everywhere? The difficulty of subsisting troops in such a country is another consideration, which should not be lost sight of.

“ It has always been my study in the exercise of the power confided to me, during the insurrections to the northward, to avoid committing the Government by any order which it might not have the means to enforce. I sincerely believe that a law denouncing human sacrifices, and providing for the punishment of persons engaged therein, would, as a general measure, prove abortive, and involve a compromise of character which should not be hazarded. In my judgment, our aim should be to improve to the utmost, our intercourse with the tribes nearest to us with the view to civilize and enlighten them, and so reclaim them from the savage practice, using our moral influence rather than our power. The position we now hold in Goomsur is favorable to the purpose. It probably is so in some places beyond the frontier also. On our side, the present Chiefs have been appointed by us, and know our strength, and it can hardly be too much to hope that the influence and exertions of the local officers, discreetly directed, will induce them to follow the example of their neighbours in Degee, and eventually render them the means of reclaiming others. But to this end, it will be necessary to go amongst them as

*friends*; to preserve our good faith, by carefully guarding against any misunderstanding on other points; and above all, by providing ourselves with all the necessary supplies, so as to be independent of their assistance in every respect, and strictly interdicting the sepoys and camp followers from entering their villages, or meddling in any way with them, or their fowls, goats, &c. They will always bring what they are willing to barter; and any thing taken in any other way, however trifling in point of real value, may be productive of the worst consequences."

With reference to the above remarks of Mr. Russell, the Madras Government recorded the following resolution:

"The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council has perused with feelings of intense and painful interest the account given in these paras. of the practice of human sacrifices carried on in the Maliahs of Goomsur, as well as throughout Khondistan; and his regret is greatly enhanced at finding there is no possibility of adopting measures for putting down this barbarous custom at once. Mr. Russell has clearly and forcibly pointed out the impracticability of using force for that purpose.

Resolution of the Madras Government on Mr. Russell's report, desiring the officer in charge of the district to ascertain to what extent the practice of sacrifice prevails, and to exert his influence to convince the people of its heinousness. Directs that every inducement, consistent with the efficiency of the public service, should be held out to the Khonds to enter it.

"The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council therefore resolves to instruct the Board of Revenue to call upon the Sub-Collector, in charge of the district, for every information upon this painfully interesting subject which he may be able to furnish. It will be the duty of that officer to ascertain to what extent the practice of such sacrifices prevails; and he will endeavour to obtain as great an insight as he can, into the feelings and opinions of the different classes of the population respecting them.

"The influence of the officer in charge of the district will also be exerted to convince the people of the heinousness and folly of this practice. To improve this influence, from which the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council confidently anticipates the most salutary results to the cause of humanity and civilization, it will be the obvious policy of that officer to encourage, by every means in his power, the intercourse of the Khonds, with the public functionaries and the people of the low country.

"Every inducement which is consistent with the efficiency of the public service should be held out to the Khonds to enter it, either as peons, or in whatever capacity they may be found useful."

On the 24th November 1837, Mr. Arbuthnot, the Acting Collector of

Extract from the report of Mr. Arbuthnot, the Acting Collector of Vizigapatam, dated 24th November 1837—States that the practice prevailed in the most inaccessible parts of the whole range of hills that divide the Company's territories from those of Hyderabad and Nagpore. Describes the ceremony. Suggests that the zemindars be urged to use their influence within their own districts for its suppression; and that roads should be made from the Company's into the Hyderabad and Nagpore territories.

Vizigapatam, in reply to a requisition calling on him to report whether the practice of offering human sacrifices prevailed in the territories subject to the Madras Government; and if so, what means ought to be adopted to put a stop to it, wrote as follows:

“The result of my inquiries on this subject leaves no doubt in my mind that this revolting practice does prevail in the most inaccessible parts of the whole range of hills that divide the Company's territories from those of Nagpore and Hyderabad.

“Of the hill tribe, Codooloo, there are said to be two distinct classes, the Cotia Codooloo, and Jathapoo Codooloo. The former class is that which is in the habit of offering human sacrifices to the god called Jenkery, with a view to secure good crops. This ceremony is generally performed on the Sunday either preceding or following the Pongal feast. The victim is seldom carried by force, but procured by purchase, and there is a fixed price for each person, which consists of forty articles such as a bullock, a male buffalo, a cow, a goat, a piece of cloth, a silk cloth, a brass pot, a large plate, a bunch of plantains, &c.

“The man who is destined for the sacrifice is immediately carried before the god, and a small quantity of rice, coloured with saffron, is put upon his head. The influence of this is said to prevent his attempting to escape, even though set at liberty. It would appear however that from the moment of his seizure till he is sacrificed, he is kept in a continued state of stupefaction or intoxication. He is allowed to wander about the village, to eat and drink any thing he may take a fancy to, and even to have connection with any of the women whom he may meet. On the morning set apart for the sacrifice, he is carried before the idol in a state of intoxication. One of the villagers officiates as a priest, who cuts a small hole in the stomach of the victim, and with the blood that flows from the wound, the idol is besmeared; then the crowds from the neighbouring villages rush forward, and he is literally cut into pieces; each person who is so fortunate as to procure it, carries away a morsel of the flesh, and presents it to the idol at his own village. A sacrifice is never offered in any village oftener than once in 12 years. Nor is there ever more than one victim; this however is not the case in Buster, where 20 persons have frequently been sacrificed at a time.

“ The only means that I can suggest of suppressing this revolting practice, is by urging the zemindars to use their influence within their own territories to prevent it.

“ If roads were made through the hills, from the Company’s into the Hyderabad and Nagpore territories, as might be done, though not without much expense, the inhabitants of those hills might be brought within the influence of civilization, and then this practice would soon be discontinued ; at present that tract of country is closed not only to Europeans, but even to the inhabitants of the plains.”

On the 13th December 1837, Captain Millar, while acknowledging the

Extract from a letter from Captain Millar, dated 13th December 1837—Acknowledges the thanks of Government, which had been tendered him for his services in rescuing 12 victims. Remarks that were the custom discontinued in any one district for one or two years, the people would then have ocular demonstration that its observance was not essential to their welfare. Recommends, therefore, the exhibition of a Military force for its suppression.

thanks of Government, which had been tendered him for his services in having rescued 12 victims, took the opportunity of offering the following remarks on the subject, for the consideration of Government.

“ Were the custom of offering human sacrifices to be completely discontinued in any considerable district for one or two years, the people of that district, and also of those bordering upon it, would then have ocular demonstration that the continuance of the practice was not essential to their welfare, and were they once perfectly convinced of this fact, these sacrifices, which are attended with great expense, would soon cease to be offered, for the people admit the criminality of the act, but attempt to justify it upon the grounds of expediency. It is pure selfishness that influences them, and they are merely fearful to omit the sacrifices lest their crops should fail, or some other temporal calamity befall them.

“ Force and intimidation were the means that I employed, and I do not apprehend any danger from the exhibition of a Military force, provided the party employed be of such strength as to render any attempt at opposition utterly hopeless. It was on this principle that I acted. I never sent out any small parties, but always went in person with the main body of my detachment, and thereby prevented any collision between the soldiers and the inhabitants of the country.

“ The circumstance of these sacrifices being only offered once in the year, viz., in the month of January, when the climate is by no means unhealthy, would remove one of the obstacles to the employment of a Military force for their suppression.”

On the 16th December 1837, Captain Campbell, the Assistant Collector in Ganjam, reported as follows :

“ The time when the Khonds are in the practice of sacrificing human victims, being near at hand, I do myself the honor to lay before you the following proposal, the object of which is to induce the perpetrators by fair means to abandon the horrible custom handed down to them by their ancestors, convinced as I am that every means in our power ought to be used for its suppression, before force is attempted, which last, in my humble opinion, would make their conviction of the virtue of the rite still stronger, besides having other prominent objections.

Extract from a letter from Captain Campbell, the Assistant Collector in Ganjam, dated 16th December 1837—Requests permission to ascend the ghauts, assemble the Khonds and endeavour to convince them of the inutility of the practice; also that he may be permitted to purchase the victims, if he cannot otherwise obtain them, and to employ a little money in gaining over the sacrificing priests.

“ I purpose with your sanction to ascend the ghauts with a considerable portion of the armed peons under my command, accompanied by a party of 50 men of the 17th Regiment, and call together the most influential men among the Khonds, and endeavour to convince them of the barbarity and inutility of the sacrifice, explain to them our abhorrence and utter detestation of the practice, at the same time ordering them to bring to me all the victims in their possession; and if I cannot otherwise obtain them, I request permission to purchase them at the prices they cost the Khonds, generally from rupees 15 to 25, and at the same time to use such threats as I may consider advisable to gain the object in view, both for the present, and for the future. If my efforts for the present prove successful, I shall be able to discover the parties engaged in the barbarous traffic of providing victims, who from all the information I can gather, are for the most part inhabitants of the low country, and thus gain the power of striking effectually at one source of the evil by immediately securing the parties concerned.

“ To gain over the Janis or sacrificing priests, would be a desirable object, and I think a little money secretly and judiciously employed among them, would have a good effect.”

On the 15th January 1838, the Madras Government recorded the following Minute on the reports of Captains Millar and Campbell :

Resolution of the Madras Government on the reports of Captains Millar and Campbell—Quotes Mr. Russell's opinion as to the inexpediency of having recourse to force. Observes that experience has shown that the

“ The opinion expressed by Captain Millar in his letter of the 13th ultimo, as to the best means of putting down the practice of human sacrifice in the Ganjam Province, refers, it is observed, exclu-

example of a district flourishing without the practice of sacrifice is not alone sufficient to induce the neighbouring Mootahs to discontinue it. Sanctions all the measures proposed by Captain Campbell, with the exception of his request to be allowed to purchase victims. Instructs him how to proceed in his intercourse with the Khonds.

sively to the low country, and is so far in accordance with the observations recorded on the subject by the Hon'ble Mr. Russell in his report of the 11th May last, that it is admitted by Captain Millar that if force and intimidation are to be the means employed for the suppression of these sacrifices, such a display of Military means must be exhibited, as will render any attempt at opposition utterly hopeless; but in Mr. Russell's report it is distinctly shown that whatever may be the result of pursu-

ing such a course in the lower country (and even here its propriety and expediency may be justly doubted) in the wilder and less accessible tracts of the Khond country, it would be attended with a fearful loss of life to the troops employed, and almost without a chance of ultimate and complete success.

“ Captain Millar's remark that if human sacrifices were entirely discontinued, for some time, in any considerable district, the Khonds would have ocular demonstration of their inutility, has not escaped the attention of Government; but experience shows, as in the case of Degee, that the example of a district flourishing without the practice of sacrifice, is not alone sufficient to induce the neighbouring Mootahs to discontinue it, and that it will require much conciliatory expostulation, and the utmost exertions of his influence on the part of the Collector to bring this fact home to the understanding of the Khonds. This salutary influence can only be expected to arise from confidence, which must be entirely destroyed, if measures of coercion and intimidation are resorted to.

“ The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council approves of the intention of Captain Campbell, the Assistant Collector in charge of Ganjam, to proceed above the ghauts for the purpose of calling together the most influential men among the Khonds, and endeavouring to convince them of the barbarity and inutility of the sacrifices observed by them, and grants authority for a guard of 50 Regulars to accompany him thither. This escort will be employed by Captain Campbell exclusively for the protection of his person, and for guarding his followers, and will not be used for any purposes whatever of compulsion or violence.

“ In his communications and intercourse with the Khonds, Captain Campbell will be careful at all times to observe the most conciliatory deportment towards them, and go amongst them as a friend, anxious to preserve the good faith of Government by carefully guarding against any

misunderstanding on any point. The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council trusts to Captain Campbell's discretion and management for the attainment of that object, without risking any step likely to lead to the necessity of using force.

"The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council authorizes Captain Campbell to grant presents to the officiating priests with the view of bringing them over to the views of Government on this subject. With respect to the permission solicited to pay to those who have destined victims in their possession, the price they may have given for them, His Lordship in Council is not inclined to sanction such a measure, as it is impossible to say to what the interference of Government as purchasers might lead. He is therefore of opinion that the officers of Government should carefully avoid any thing which might possibly tend to encourage this odious traffic, and should confine their pecuniary interference, as heretofore, to rewarding those who may afford useful information or assistance in its suppression."

The following is Captain Campbell's Report of the results of his expedition among the Khonds, bearing date 17th January, 1838 :

Extract from Captain Campbell's Report of his expedition into the Khond Maliahs. Rescue of 100 victims. Pledge of the Khonds to abandon the rite. Has ascertained that Khonds are sacrificed indiscriminately with other castes. Recommends a severe example to be made of all concerned in the sale of children. Believes the public performance of the sacrifice to be at an end in Goomsur.

"I proceeded into the Khond Maliahs with an escort of 25 Privates of the 17th Regiment and 44 of my own peons, and having called together the Heads or Moolikooos of the different Mootahs, explained to them what I supposed to be the intentions of Government, *viz.*, that the sacrifice of human victims would no longer be suffered among them, and peremptorily ordered them to bring all persons whom they might have purchased as Meriahs, to me. The Moolikooos denied having

any such in their possession, but from my having previously taken the precaution to ascertain the names of different chiefs who had Meriahs, and the persons from whom they had been purchased, they were led to make a partial disclosure. I then sent them away for the children, and to expedite the business sent two of my peons to each of the head Moolikooos.

"All the Moolikooos attended to deliver up the Meriahs in their possession, one hundred in number, (for by them alone are they purchased for sacrifice) with the exception of those of Tiengia and Cotingia, who feeling some alarm sent them to me at Oodiagburry by other hands, but who have since joined me here, expressing regret for their non-attendance.

"I of course demanded a declaration that the Meriah Poojah should henceforth be at an end among them, and that any one performing it would subject himself to severe retribution : this after a certain form was repeated by all.

"In none of the Mootahs that took so prominent a part in the late rebellion, viz., Coormingia, Calingia, Mooklingia, Siriki, Pidskia, &c., did I find any Meriahs, but from them several have been sold to their more flourishing neighbours, and among them are the children of Khonds, who I have ascertained are sacrificed indiscriminately with other castes.

"In the Chokapand and Passera Districts, I found several children that had been purchased, but as I had the assurance of the Bissyys that they would answer with their own lives for their safety, and that the children, though purchased, had been adopted, I thought it proper after registering their names, residence, appearance, &c., &c., to allow them to remain, the more so as these districts are below the ghauts, and the Bissyys men, on whom dependence may be placed.

"I am now engaged in securing the persons of those through whose means, or by whom, the children rescued from the Khonds were sold ; of the professed kidnappers and Meriah providers, I would recommend a severe example to be made ; and punishment also to be inflicted on all concerned in the sale of children to the Khonds, according to the nature of the case : this I am satisfied would have a salutary effect.

"On the most minute inquiry, I could not discover that more than four or five victims were sacrificed annually in the Goomsur Maliahs ; or that any men sacrificed for private purposes, such as the restoration to health of a Moolikoo or head man, for which the partaking of food from the same dish with the Meriah is considered sufficient.

"I have every reason to believe that the public performance of the Meriah Poojah in the Goomsur Maliahs is at an end ; but if measures are not taken in the neighbouring Khond Mootahs for its suppression, it will be hard to maintain the ground we have gained.

"That the number of Meriahs this year purchased by the Khonds exceeds that of former years, is allowed, and it is accounted for by the distress which has lately prevailed in Goomsur."

On the 24th October 1838, the Honorable Court of Directors to whom the above proceedings had been submitted, forwarded the following Despatch, approving of the measures which had been adopted by the Government of Madras, and giving directions for its future guidance in its dealings with the Khonds.



“ With the most anxious desire for the speedy suppression of these barbarous practices, we are satisfied that in the measures which you have adopted, you have acted with prudence and humanity, and in a manner entirely consistent with the present state of our relations with this wild race ; and with the very limited knowledge of them which we yet possess.

Extract from a dispatch from the Hon'ble Court of Directors to the Madras Government in the Revenue Department, No. 17, dated 24th October 1838. Approve of the measures adopted by the Madras Government. Desire that the procurers of victims and other abettors of the sacrifice may be visited with the severest punishment. Direct every effort to be made to cultivate a feeling of good-will among the people. Enlarge on the good effects which would follow the formation of roads in those wild tracts.

“ Whatever circumstances may justify or recommend a lenient course of proceeding towards the Khonds themselves, no palliative considerations can apply to the case of individuals, who may be detected in the horrible trade of supplying victims for the sacrifices. Under these circumstances the severest measure of punishment might be justly inflicted ; and we doubt not that such an example would be followed by the effect of

checking the practice by limiting the facility with which victims are obtained.

“ Every effort should be made to cultivate among the people a feeling of good-will towards our Government, by showing them practically that our sole object is their good. The zemindars and Bissyes, and as far as practicable the Khonds themselves, should be made acquainted with the horror with which we regard their sanguinary ceremonies, and no exertion should be spared to detect and visit with condign punishment all persons who, not partaking their superstitions, aid and abet them in their practices, by the supply of victims or otherwise.

“ It appears to us that sufficient stress is not laid in your proceedings on the good effects which would follow the improvement of the means of communication ; or rather the formation of them, as scarcely any at present exist among these wild tracts. Not only would the barbarous practices of the natives of the hills gradually, but certainly, become extinct under a more extended intercourse with the more civilized inhabitants of the low country ; but the chances of insurrection, and the difficulty of suppressing it when aroused, would be most materially diminished. The protracted campaign in Goomsur which caused so great an expenditure of blood and treasure, were mainly owing to our ignorance of the localities, and the want of practicable roads on which to move our troops to the required points. Even in a financial point of view, therefore, the formation of ready means of communication is of paramount importance, and we

desire that the subject may receive from you the consideration which it deserves."

On the 23rd December 1837, Mr. Inglis, Joint Magistrate in charge, at

Extract of a letter from the Joint Magistrate in charge at Ganjam—Reports the recovery of one Lutchemah who had been entrapped into the Maliahs for purposes of sacrifice, also that the Khonds had given up one Yanootee Bheemoo, the kidnapper.

Ganjam, reported that information having been obtained that a person named Lutchemah, an inhabitant of the Town of Purla Kimedy, had been entrapped into the Maliahs, and was in confinement at Soovernagherry, somewhere beyond Chinna Kimedy, with the object of his being sacrificed at the feast in the month of January, a party of peons

and others was sent from Purla Kimedy, and the zemindars of Pedda and Chinna Kimedy were desired to send their people to assist them in discovering the place of confinement. The information having proved correct, Lutchemah was immediately given up by the Khonds on being demanded by name. They also gave up Yanootee Bheemoo, the person who entrapped Lutchemah, and who sold him to them, as it appeared, for Rupees 45. The prosecutor Lutchemah stated that he had reason to think from what he had heard when in confinement, that there were others similarly situated with himself in that country; and the prisoner Yanootee Bheemoo being questioned, gave in a long list of victims eventually to be sacrificed, principally children, whose names and origin he did not know, but who had been purchased by the Khond tribes for that purpose. The Joint Magistrate further observed that he had been since endeavouring but without success, through the Chinna Kimedy zemindar, to ascertain whether there were really any other persons in confinement, and if so, in what places. The zemindar was very willing to give his aid in whatever was required; but had no power and little influence over these savage tribes. To attempt the apprehension of any of these men by force, would require a considerable force; and even then perhaps could not be effected amidst such interminable and unexplored jungles. These tribes, apparently aboriginal, were moreover independent and had never paid tribute, or acknowledged subjection to any power. They inhabited the hills, and jungles, which extend from the Godavery northwards to a great distance, all along the northern Circars, and the Nagpore territories. In the southern part of this district they were called Sourahs, and to the northward Khonds. In Cuttack they were called Khonds, and further north the tribes called Coles and Lucha Coles were different tribes, of the same race, and similar in their habits and practices.

On the 15th June 1838, Mr. Bannermah, the Magistrate of Ganjam, reported as follows, regarding Lutchemah's case:—

“ There is reason to believe that Bheemoo is one of those miscreants

Extract from a report from the Magistrate of Ganjam.—States that the liberation of Lutchemah was only effected on Bheemoo's giving the Khonds his own daughter in his stead. Bheemoo had previously sold another of his daughters to the Khonds, who positively refused to give up the two girls, in spite of every endeavour on the part of their chiefs to obtain their release. A European Officer would therefore proceed to that part of the Maliahs before the sacrificial season.

who make a traffic of providing Meriah victims for the Khonds. It appears that on a previous occasion he had made an agreement with the Majee, the headman of the village, to procure a victim for sacrifice at the Tonkee festival, and received from him some articles as part payment of the price in advance, and that he placed a daughter of his own in the hands of the Majee, as security for the fulfilment of his engagement. Having failed at that time in procuring a victim as agreed upon, it seems he was so inhuman as to sell to the Majee, for the purpose of being sacrificed, the daughter he had previously pledged to him. Subsequently he

enticed Lutchemah to the Hills, and sold him to the Khonds of Ramaneegoodah, where he had been confined for three or four months, when the manager of Purla Kimedy sent a party to effect his liberation. It appears now from the statement of Bahadur Putroodoo and his people, that the release of Lutchemah was then only obtained by Bheemoo delivering over to the Khonds his second daughter in lieu of that person, and that he left both his daughters in their hands. Every endeavour has been used through the zemindar's officers, and the Maliah Chiefs, to procure the release of those two girls; but the Khonds positively refused to deliver them up, on the ground that the elder one was sold to them by her father, and the other given in exchange for Lutchemah, who also had been fairly purchased from him; and they proceeded to acts of violence against Chytanah Putroodoo's people, who went to demand them; but were conciliated by some trifling presents, and allowed the party to return in safety from their country. The Hill Chiefs have engaged to continue their endeavours to effect the release of these two persons, either secretly or by other means, but it is to be apprehended that it could only be by the presence of an European officer on the spot, attended by such an escort as would give weight to his authority, that the Khonds would be constrained to deliver up the captives in their possession. With this view, before the season when the sacrifice is annually made, an European Officer will, if possible, proceed to that part of the Maliahs. In the mean time there appears reason to hope that these unfortunate persons are not in immediate danger of losing their lives, as the sacrifice is only made at a particular annual festival. Through the exertions of Chytanah Putroodoo, the Maliah Sirdar under the zemindar, five individuals have lately

been rescued from the neighbourhood of Goodapore, who have been restored to their friends; but there is too much reason to believe that these are not solitary instances, and that there are many other unfortunate creatures destined as victims to this detestable superstition confined in different places in the Chinna Kimedy Maliahs, and there is no doubt that in Jeypore, and the adjoining tracts, the Meriah is still more commonly practised."

On the 20th July 1838, Mr. Bannerman, when acknowledging a precept calling on him "to take immediate steps for

Extract from a letter from Mr. Bannerman, acknowledging a precept, calling on him to bring Yanootee Bheemoo to trial, in conformity with the general regulations, on a charge of having placed two of his own daughters in the hands of the Khonds for sacrifice. Observes that the facts of the case could only be proved by the Khonds themselves, and enlarges on the impracticability of summoning them as witnesses. Shows that although their chief could possibly give some account of the affair, it would be highly impolitic to compel his attendance before the Court of Circuit.

bringing Yanootee Bheemoo to trial in conformity with the provisions of the general regulations, with special reference to the fact of his having placed two of his own daughters in the hands of the hill people for the purpose of being sacrificed," wrote as follows:—"It is only by the Khonds of Mulleegodah, that the facts of the case could be proved against the prisoner, but they have not only positively refused to deliver up the two females in question, but used violence against the party sent by my directions to endeavour to obtain their release. The part of the Soovurnagherry Maliahs where these unfortunate persons are said to be detained, is the most remote and inaccessible of the whole of the hill tract, and the Khond tribes who inhabit it

remain in a state of savage independence. The zemindar's officers had never before the present occasion penetrated into their country, or attempted to exercise the slightest control over them; neither does their nominal chief, the Pater of Soovurnagherry, possess any authority whatever over them; he can do nothing without the consent of the elders of the different tribes, and dare not attempt to coerce them. I consider it, therefore, to be utterly impossible, under existing circumstances, to bring these uncivilized and barbarous men before the Court of Circuit as witnesses, more particularly as those best acquainted with the facts are themselves deeply implicated in the criminal transaction.

"Bahadur Putroodoo, the Chief of Soovurnagherry, could possibly give some account of the affair, though his evidence would probably not be direct and conclusive, but there would, I apprehend, be the greatest possible reluctance on his part to appear as a witness in our Courts of Justice. It is of the highest importance as regards the future success of

our endeavours to put a stop to the practice of sacrificing human victims throughout the Maliahs, that the hill chiefs should be conciliated by every possible means, and induced to enter cordially into the views of the Government on this subject; and in prosecution of the desired object, every thing should be avoided calculated to harass, or annoy them. To proud and suspicious men like them, totally ignorant of every thing relating to our Courts, and judicial forms of proceeding, a summons to appear as a witness before the Court of Circuit, would not fail to excite much alarm and disgust; and I think would be calculated to have the worst effects in preventing the other chiefs from affording their assistance on similar occasions. For these reasons I am of opinion that it would be extremely inexpedient to require the attendance of the hill chief of Soovurnagherry before the Court of Circuit, and I trust I shall be considered to exercise a justifiable discretion in suspending any steps for summoning him as a witness in the case."

The following is the Minute recorded by Government on the receipt of this letter from Mr. Bannerman:—

"The sentiments expressed by the Magistrate of Ganjam are approved of; the Right Honorable the Governor in Council would however be greatly gratified to learn that Mr. Bannerman, by the offer of suitable rewards, or by any other proper means, has been successful in effecting the liberation of the two daughters of Yanootee Bheemoo who are said to be detained by the Khonds of Mulleegodah as victims for sacrifice."

On the 2nd July 1838, Lieutenant Hill, an Officer attached to the Survey Department in Ganjam, forwarded to Government the following report of the country and its inhabitants:

"It is difficult to point out the exact limits of the country occupied by the Khonds. Their appearance, manners, dress, habits, and the general belief and traditions among the people of the surrounding countries, all conspire to point out these people as descendants from the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. On the eastern side, Telingahs, Wooriahs, &c., have driven them from the narrow fertile belt between the mountains and the sea, while on the western side of the ghauts, the Gonds from Nagpore and Gondwana have encroached to the very foot of the Hills.

Minute of the Madras Government, coinciding in the sentiments expressed by Mr. Bannerman, but hoping that he might nevertheless be successful in effecting the liberation of the two girls.

Extract from a report from Lieut. Hill, an Officer attached to the Survey Department in Ganjam.—Defines the limits of the country occupied by the Khonds, and the Districts over which the rite extends.—Is of opinion, that nothing less than a regular organized system similar to that established for the suppression of Thuggee, will suffice for its suppression. Recommends the

formation of lines of road  
as an auxiliary measure.

Some few of the tribe are indeed found above the ghauts, and one family has settled so far East as Songagoda of Patlinga. The Gonds of Kallahundy, and the countries immediately adjoining the western foot of the Hills have, in their turn, become subject to the Wooriahs and Hindus, who again became tributary to Nagpore, when the Mahrattas overthrew the Gond dynasty of Deoghur, and overran Chutteesghur, Bundarra, Chanda, &c. At present villages of Wooriahs, Gonds, and Khonds are scattered throughout the wide and dense forests of Patna, Kallahundy, Jeypore, Kariall, and Nowagudda. No Khonds are however to be found westward of Kariall, and Nowagudda; the Wooriah population is chiefly of the Paik caste (matchlock-men) by whom the Khonds and Gonds are kept in abject servitude. The Khonds located in the Hill fastnesses of Jeypore and Bustar, and of Chinna Kimedy, Goomsur, Boad, Sohnpore, Duspulla, &c., appear to be the only tribes that have maintained their independence. The country over which Khonds are scattered, extends from the North of the Mahanuddee to very nearly as far South as the Godavery. On the western side of Orissa, it is generally believed by the better informed classes both of Gonds and Wooriahs, that the Khonds are of the same race as the inhabitants of the Hills of Jeypore, Joudpore, &c. in Hindustan, whom the people of Orissa term "Meenah," and they maintain that their language is the same with that of the wild tribes of those regions, with the difference only of provincialisms and corruptions, from intercourse with their surrounding neighbours respectively.

"The Gonds of the plains of Chutteesghur, Bundarra, Nagpore, &c., are comparatively a civilized race, and their buildings such as the palace, at Nagpore, the Forts of Bundarra, Ryepore, Omrair, Wyraghur, &c., show that they possess some considerable idea of luxury, and solid though somewhat barbaric magnificence. The Gonds who have migrated from the open plains, and have become denizens of the Hills and Forests of Orissa, retain the features and language of their more polished brethren, but are of darker complexion, and have adopted the wild demeanor of the Khonds, together with their implements and arms, of the latter, the axes are of many and fantastic shapes, not seen among the eastern Khonds. Their bows and arrows are generally rather longer than those of the Hills. Like the Khonds, the Gonds are fond of hunting, and pursue the sport with an eagerness and ardour found only among people of the Forest. Their long hair is fastened in a knot behind, and is generally their only covering to the head, from poverty, not choice. When employed

in the chase, they hang their spare arrows by the barb, to their hair, with the point of the arrow upwards, and the feathered heel hanging between their shoulders. The arrow for use is carried fixed on the bowstring, and pointed directly to the front. When game is sprung, the left hand raises the bow, till the arrow points to the zenith, when it is brought *down* to bear on its object, and at short distances of fifteen or twenty yards they seldom miss a deer; at objects farther off they do not care to shoot. On the western confines of the Forest, the Gonds use matchlocks.

“The information I obtained regarding human sacrifices leads me to suppose that the practice of that barbarous rite, obtains to a far greater extent than is generally supposed, and I much fear that the Khond Maliahs of Goomsur, form but a very small portion of the country over which the custom prevails. Of the Khond Districts, North of the Mahanuddy, I have no accurate intelligence, but there can be little doubt the practice will be found to exist, as it certainly does in the adjoining hilly parts of Duspulla, Boad and Sohnpore. From the Goomsur Maliahs southwards, Chinna Kimeddy, Pedda Kimeddy, and Jeypore, complete the chain to Bustar, in which latter place the practice is prevalent to an enormous extent. One grand sacrifice said to have taken place twelve years since, on the Bustar Raja setting out to visit His Highness the Raja of Nagpore, is spoken of as the “*great sacrifice*,” and I am informed that on that occasion, twenty-five or twenty-seven full grown men were immolated. I have strong reasons for supposing the practice to be known to the Gonds of Konkeir and the adjoining Mocassars, North of Bustar; and moreover that in some of the wilder jungles bordering on Chutteesghur, the Gonds add Cannibalism to this horrid deed, and eat the flesh they sacrifice.

“Information derived from sources I have no reason to doubt, lead me to suppose that there are not less than two hundred children kept for Meriah, in the Bulleeguddah Mootah of Chinna Kimeddy alone. Upwards of one hundred, (as is well known to Government) have this year been delivered up in Goomsur; but many, many more still remain there. With this data to calculate from, it is fearful to contemplate the possible number of intended victims now in captivity among the Khonds.

“In Patna and Kallahundy the *Wooriahs* deny the existence of the custom, but there is little doubt of its being practised in the hilly tracts; and the same may be said of Kariall and Nowagudda. The Khonds and Gonds are said not to be the only people who sacrifice human beings: at Bissumcuttaek, the Jeypore Raja's Karkoon pointed out a child of about

eight years of age in a large Brinjary camp, who, he stated, had been purchased near the Coast, and was to be sacrificed on crossing the boundary of Orissa (the Jung River). The Brinjarries were questioned regarding the child, and claimed it as one of their own tribe, but Koonchee Singh (a son of the late zemindar of Sooradah, who accompanied me) pronounced the child to be a Wooriah of the same caste as my bearers; hence I fear that the Brinjarries who travel these roads, are in the habit of performing this ceremony. Great caution is necessary in believing any Khond Mootah to be free from this stain, as on several occasions when the practice has been stoutly denied, I have afterwards obtained undoubted proof of its existence. It is not the custom in Sarungudda, though it is suspected that some of the Sarungudda Khonds attend the sacrifice in other Districts.

“ If I venture to offer some unsolicited suggestions which arise in my mind on this subject, I must plead in excuse the length of time I have been employed in Ganjam, and the adjacent hilly country; the opportunities that I have had of forming a judgment of the disposition of the Khonds; and the earnest solicitude every man of Christian education must feel for the suppression of a practice so horrid and unnatural.

“ If we reflect on the extent of country over which this custom prevails, and what is of more importance, the nature of that country, the dense forests, the vast chain of mountains, in the strongholds of which this superstitious rite is most firmly seated; the doubtful climate at the best season, and the decided insalubrity of the air for the remainder of the year; the general character of the country which will not support any large additional body above the number of its inhabitants, and the ill-success that usually attends the persecution of a people on account of religious tenets, however falsely grounded they may be, it will be evident to all but those blindly prepossessed, that Military force in this case would not avail, but would rather be the means of sanctioning an enormous slaughter, at a great expense on the part of the State, without the prospect of an entire and final abandonment of the custom by the Khonds, under any less rigorous measures than the almost total extirpation of the race. But it does not appear to me, therefore, to follow that authority is to be exerted for the suppression of the Meriah; or that persuasion *alone* is likely to produce better results than the employment of Military force. It must be borne in mind that this race, if not entitled to the name of savage, is on the very lowest verge of civilization, and is not prepared to receive rules and ordinances adapted to a people of more



cultivated understanding. The disposition of the Khonds partakes much of *animal* suspicion and cunning, and it is to be recollected that the varying ideas of his mind are more nearly allied to *instinct* than to the powers of reasoning, and perception between right and wrong, which are the results of education and civilization. Attempt to reason with a Khond, and he refers to the customs handed down from his ancestors ; try to persuade him his ancestors were wrong, he looks on you with dread, and supposes you are endeavouring to entrap him into compromising himself in some fancied manner ; but let him know that it is positively ordered to do a thing, and let him see before his eyes power sufficient to carry that order into effect, and he will obey. For the suppression of Thuggee, a strong and almost arbitrary power has been exerted by local authorities, most beneficially for the public good, and it cannot easily be imagined that any thing short of that power so exerted, could have produced like results ; but if murderers by trade cannot be persuaded to abandon their calling, can we hope that *persuasion* will have more effect on men who murder *solely* on the principle of making a *necessary* offering to their god ?

“ Local knowledge, and a personal acquaintance with individuals, their manners and habits form the first and indispensable qualifications for asserting the power of Government in a Khond District. When we possess these, their Military strength is a mere trifle comparatively, and one effective Company of Regulars would be found force sufficient to back any order in any single Mootah or District. Much must depend on, and be left entirely to the direction of the local authorities, but I am sanguine that if the system be tried, it will not be in vain, that I have penned these observations.

“ A powerful auxiliary may be called to our aid in the northern parts of Khondistan, by establishing lines of communication across the Hills with Sohnpore, Patna, &c.

“ The foregoing notes apply more particularly to the Hills of Ganjam, but the Khond Mootahs of that District form but a small portion of the tract of country, over which the observance of this rite obtains. It is much to be doubted whether any thing less than an organized system conducted with great temper and patience, and followed up with unremitting perseverance, will be found sufficient effectually to eradicate this barbarous custom. The reminders of Duspullah, Boad and Sohnpore, are not sufficiently powerful to agitate a reform on so tender a point among their Khond subjects, without the support of European authority, and a great risk would be hazarded of embroiling them with their own subjects by seeking their co-operation. This objection does not exist in Patna and Kalahundy,

where the Khonds and Gonds are kept in complete restraint by the Wooriahs, and the chiefs are well disposed towards Europeans."

On the 18th October 1838, Mr. Bannerman reported his intention of

Extract from a letter from Mr Bannerman, announcing his intention of proceeding above the ghauts prior to the Tonka festival, to endeavour to induce the Khonds to abandon the sacrifice.

proceeding above the ghauts previous to the period at which the Tonka festival is annually celebrated, on which occasion only this horrid rite is usually practised, with the view of endeavoring to induce the tribes to abandon the detestable superstition, and to deliver up their unfortunate victims.

"I am convinced," he wrote, "from what I have seen, that it is necessary that a European Officer should go among the Khonds of the Chinna Kimedya Maliahs, and personally explain to them the views and determination of the Government on this subject, in order to convince them that the Sircar actually interests itself in this matter; for at present I am apprehensive that they regard the interference of the zemindar's officers, and hill chiefs as not originating with the Company's Government." Mr. Bannerman's proposition received the sanction of the Madras Government.

The following is an extract from Mr. Bannerman's Report of his proceedings in the Khond districts, dated 2nd January 1839.

Extract from Mr. Bannerman's report on the results of his expedition above the ghauts. Narates the rescue of a young woman just as the ceremony was about to commence. Recovery in all of nine victims. Is of opinion that the annual march of a detachment through the country would suffice to prevent the sacrifices taking place anywhere in the neighbourhood. Descants on the infamous conduct of the kidnappers.

"The period at which the Tonka festival, at which human victims are sacrificed, is annually celebrated, is regulated by the moon, and I was led to expect that the feast would have fallen this year in the second week of January. Having obtained information, however, that the Meriah was appointed to take place at the Khond villages of Seecaragoodah and Gunderagoodah, on Sunday the 30th ultimo, my arrangements were somewhat precipitated. It seemed to me that interfering at the

very moment, to prevent the consummation of the horrid ceremony, would have the effect of promulgating in the most unequivocal and public manner, the determination of the British Government to put a stop to the barbarous custom; and that a strong impression would be produced by the whole of the Khonds of the neighbourhood, assembled from all quarters, having ocular proof that their hitherto inaccessible fastnesses cannot longer screen their sinful proceedings. There appeared however to be a risk of these rude men being excited to violent acts, and I deemed it necessary to assemble a strong party, altogether about three hundred of the Daratanum and peans of the Hill Forts

dependant on Purla Kimedy, with whom, and an escort of 60 Sepoys from the posts of Waranasee and Kimedy, under their native Officers, I proceeded to the appointed place, a small Khond village on the borders of Vizianagur, Purla Kimedy, and Goodary, a dependency of the Jeypore Zemindary, and situated from eight to ten coss to the East of the Cusbah village of Goodary, which is on the bank of the River Wamshadarah, about sixty miles to the North of the Town of Kimedy.

" After passing through a dense forest, chiefly of the Damer tree, by a most difficult and narrow track, leading over several steep and awkward ghauts, we came upon the village of Seecaragoodah soon after daylight. Fortunately the Khonds had no notice of our approach, and were taken completely by surprise. The preparations for the ceremony appeared to have been completed. The entrance to the hamlet, which was in the form of a square had been newly fitted up with wicker work, and in the centre, close to the rude village idol, had been erected a bamboo pole about forty feet high, on the top of which was an effigy in the shape of a bird with peacock's feather. Having luckily secured the person of the Majee (headman,) for the whole of the Khonds taking alarm, fled to the Hills in the immediate rear of the village, the victim, a young woman from the plains of the Chinna Kimedy Zemindary, was, after some demur, given up to me; and some of the elders and chiefs were induced to approach and communicate with me.

" To the arguments used by me, as to the heinous nature of the crime of putting a fellow creature to a cruel death, and the folly of supposing that any advantage could possibly result from so sinful an act, the Khonds replied that they paid no tribute, and owed no allegiance to us; that the Meriah had always been practised from time immemorial; that, if the usual ceremonies were omitted, their fields would be unproductive, that the victims had been fairly purchased for a price, and finally that they had a right to do what seemed to them fit in the matter. To reason further with these rude and ignorant men, would have been altogether unavailing, especially as many of them appeared to be under the influence of the potations in which they are in the habit of indulging on such occasions. The Khonds from the neighbouring villages, in the meantime, kept arriving in multitudes to attend the feast, and as the immediate object in view, the rescue of the victim had been attained, I deemed it expedient after the men had refreshed themselves a little, to retrace our steps; bringing along with us several of the elders of the tribes, as hostages that the Khonds would not obstruct our return; and with the

view of availing myself of their influence in obtaining the release of the Meriahs detained in other parts of the Mootah; as well as more fully impressing on them the arguments, which they did not appear to be then in a state of mind, duly to appreciate.

“To Goonderagoodah, which is not quite so inaccessible, I sent the day previously, a small party of peons with a written notification, threatening summary punishment to the inhabitants, if the sacrifice should take place, and requiring the Meriah to be delivered up; which requisition they thought it prudent to comply with; and subsequently seven other victims detained in different villages have similarly been given up to me, making

Men, .....	2		altogether nine individuals, belonging to various
Boys, .....	2		parts of the country, who have been rescued on the
	—	4	present occasion. I am sanguine that these mea-
Women, .....	2		sures will have a favorable effect throughout the
Girls, .....	3		southern parts of the Vomunmah Maliahs; but
	—	5	there is unfortunately a very large tract of Khond
Total, ...	9		country lying between these parts and the Goomsur Mootahs, to which it
	—		is not to be expected that their influence can extend.

“I am sensible of the anxiety felt by the Government to put a stop to the barbarous custom of sacrificing human victims, which, as far as I am aware, is not systematically followed in any other part of the world, but I feel difficulty in proposing any practical measure, with the view of carrying its humane wishes into effect. Presuming that such aid of the Commissariat Department, as would be required, to enable troops to move through a country such as has been described, independent in every respect of other supplies, could be afforded, the most eligible plan, in my opinion, would be to allow a detachment to move from the northward, entering the Maliahs from the Goomsur side, and traversing the more open part of the country, being guided by circumstances as to the precise direction to be taken. The detachment should enter Khondistan at the most favorable season, and its object should be simply to march through the country, without molesting or interfering in any way with the inhabitants, and, as has already been expressly enjoined by the Government, conciliatory means only, should be used for obtaining the release of Meriahs. The presence of the detachment in those parts would, I am convinced, be quite sufficient to prevent the sacrifices taking place anywhere in the neighbourhood, and the influence of such a visitation, it is to be hoped, would also have a more lasting effect. The circumstances of the sacrifices taking place annually, within a certain specified

period, it will be observed, is favorable to our efforts for their suppression.

"It is now fully established that Khonds are sacrificed in common with all other castes. The victims are indiscriminately obtained without distinction of age. It is fearful to contemplate the extent of human misery resulting from the practice of this execrable rite; for, independent of the number of Meriahs annually immolated, and which there is too much reason to believe, is far larger than could readily be credited, it gives rise with all its attendant evils, to the system of kidnapping unfortunate inhabitants of the plains, who are decoyed into the hills, by a set of infamous wretches, who carry on a profitable traffic in the blood of their fellow-men. The agents engaged in these odious dealings, are for the most part, of the Panwa, Dombango and other base tribes, through whom the intercourse with the low country is chiefly carried on; and who, without remorse, barter their unhappy captives in common with salt, and some few necessary articles, for saffron, wax, and other products of the Hills. These heartless miscreants, whose guilt seems to be even of a deeper dye than that of the African slave-traders, are actuated by the basest and most sordid motives, in supplying the victims; and their infamous conduct does not admit of any palliation. The barbarous and ignorant Khonds, on the other hand, are conscious of no sin in performing what they regard as a sacred duty in celebrating the Tonka festival."

Mr. Bannerman also enclosed a further report from Captain Campbell, which runs as follows:—

"I have great satisfaction in stating that the sacrifice of human victims has greatly diminished in comparison with former times, owing to the proceedings of last year; partly from the want of subjects, and partly, from a fear of the consequences of infringing the orders I had issued.

Extract from a letter from Captain Campbell, forwarded with the above report of Mr. Bannerman. —States that the sacrifice has greatly diminished, that the Khonds promised as last year to refrain from the rite; but that he was of opinion that it would be necessary to address their fears as well as their better feelings.

"The only instances of the Meriah sacrifice having taken place last year that I could positively ascertain, were three; two in Sam Bissye's country, and one at Moondagam of Tintulgudda; but these were performed, as stated to me, on the bodies of Meriahs who had died a natural death, and by stealth, though the Bissye had after-knowledge of the fact. All the other Moolikoos declared that no Meriah was sacrificed within their territories; but in the same breath begged permission to offer one victim yearly in each Mootah. The refusal did not seem to disappoint them much,

and they all went away, promising, as last year, to refrain from the rite.

“ In former times, the great sacrifices were performed at the full moon of the month Poosheim, and Maghum ; and the minor ones during the following eight days of either moon, though to avert any dreaded misfortune, they were performed at any season.

“ The more I see of the Khonds, the more is my opinion confirmed, that unless we address ourselves to their fears, as well as to their better feelings, our steps for the suppression of the Meriah Poojah will be slow indeed, and further perhaps wholly nugatory, unless the same system is followed wherever the sacrifice is known to exist.”

The Madras Government recorded the following resolution on the above two reports :

Resolution of the Madras Government on the above two reports.—Approves of the proceedings of the Commissioner. Observes that a body of peons should be employed in making the marches through Khondistan, instead of a detachment of troops as proposed by Mr. Bannerman. Requests that Officer to state the description and number of peons that will be required. Thanks Captain Campbell, for his successful exertions.

“ The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council entirely approves of the proceedings of the Commissioner.”

“ The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council sees no objection to the adoption of the measures proposed, for the suppression throughout the Khond Maliahs, of the barbarous practice of sacrificing human victims ; but instead of a detachment of sepoy, his Lordship in Council is of opinion, a body of select and armed peons should be employed in making the marches through Khondistan, as it

is not only most unadvisable to allow sepoy to come in contact with the rude and savage inhabitants of those regions, but it is essentially necessary that they should be reserved for great occasions only, such as quelling disturbance when it has unhappily broken out, and restoring order and tranquillity. Mr. Bannerman will therefore be pleased to state his sentiments as to the description and number of peons that will be required for this duty, and the subsidiary arrangements it will be necessary to make, to give full effect to the measures proposed by him.

“ It has afforded the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council peculiar pleasure to learn that the Moolikoos in the Goomsur Mootahs have come to a voluntary determination entirely to abandon the barbarous custom of sacrificing human victims ; and as Captain Campbell would appear to have been instrumental in the adoption of this resolution by them, His Lordship in Council considers him to be entitled for his successful exertions in

the cause of humanity to the approbation, as well as the thanks of Government."

The following is Captain Campbell's account of the results of a further expedition into those tracts, dated 4th January 1841:

"I ascended into the Goomsur Maliahs for the purpose of endeavouring to check, by my presence and influence among the people, any attempt to perform the Meriah sacrifice at the full moon which occurred on the 7th January; and also to procure the release of any victims that might have been sold to the Khonds since my visit last year.

Extract from Captain Campbell's account of a further expedition into those tracts. Reports the sale of twenty-four victims to the Khonds of Goomsur and the measures adopted for their recovery. The intention to continue the sacrifice exists with undiminished force, and persuasion has not had the effect anticipated—Is still of opinion that unless more decided steps are taken, the rite will not cease, though it may not be performed openly.

"I could not discover that any sacrifices had been performed in the Goomsur Maliahs, but I have reason to believe that some of the inhabitants provided victims, and sacrificed them in the neighbouring Mootahs of Chinna Kimedy, Mahasinghi, &c.

"I regret also to have to report that twenty-four victims have been sold to Khonds of Goomsur as Meriahs, the greater number within the last 12 months. Six of them have been delivered up to me, and I have taken measures for the recovery of the remainder, through the agency of the Chief Bissye Bahadur Bukshi, Ootonsingh Dulbhera, and others of minor influence among the Khonds, and also for apprehending the persons by whom the children had been sold; to these ends the chiefs have promised to use their utmost endeavours, and I shall not cease to watch their proceedings, in the hope and expectation that the children will be recovered; though I fear there will be considerable difficulty in finding the parties, chiefly Maliah Panwas, who sold them, and procuring evidence sufficient to convict them. Three I have already secured, who are now in confinement at Nowgaum, awaiting the arrival of witnesses.

"The number of victims purchased within the last year, would lead to the conclusion that the intention to continue the sacrifice of human victims exists with undiminished force, and that persuasion and remonstrance has not had the effect anticipated.

"Children are sometimes sold as Meriahs by their parents and other relations, for as small a sum as three and four Rupees, Khonds as well as Panwas, but the former more rarely, and to punish those who sell, (frequently of late years driven to do so by distress) and to suffer the pur-

chasers, the actual perpetrators of the sacrifice to escape, appears unequal measure towards men inhabiting the same villages with the Khonds, equally ignorant, and equally with them, believing in the efficacy of the revolting rite.

“ The situation of the Goomsur Maliahs has now become very different from that of the Maliahs under the neighbouring zemindarees, where our troops have never penetrated, and where the power and authority of Government is neither known nor recognized, since the close of the disturbances. Captain Hill has during four seasons passed as many times through the Goomsur Maliahs, with an imposing force ; and I have each year, at the usual time of sacrifice, visited every part accessible with bullock carriage, encouraging, with considerable success, a close and frequent intercourse with the Khonds ; and I still continue of opinion that unless more decided measures are adopted, the Meriah sacrifice will not cease though it may not be performed openly.”

On the 16th March 1841 Lord Elphinstone recorded the following Minute on this subject:—

Extract from a Minute of Lord Elphinstone—Proposes the following measures for the abolition of the rite ; first, the opening of routes and passes through the wild tracts more particularly between Aska and Goon-gudda ; second, the encouragement of the commercial intercourse between the hills and the plains by all possible means, and the establishment of Fairs or Marts for that purpose ; third, the raising of a semi-military force from among the Hill men, upon a footing similar to that of the Paik Company of Cuttack—Indicates the agency and the mode by which these objects may be accomplished, and suggests ulterior measures.

“ It is not by violent measures that we can hope to succeed. Violent measures must necessarily be partial ones. We cannot coerce the whole of the wide tract of country, and the wild tribes that inhabit it at the same moment, and I am convinced that all isolated attempts must end in failure. The delusiveness of partial success, even when obtained by conciliation, is demonstrated in Major Campbell's last report.

“ If we reflect upon the extent of country, over which it is to be feared, that this barbarous superstition prevails, the condition of the rude tribes who are under its influence, and of the nature of that influence itself, above all others the most difficult to counteract, we must arrive at the conclusion, that it is upon other means of a more general and progressive character, that we can alone rely for the attainment of this object.

“ Lient. Macpherson, a very intelligent Officer, who has been employed in these countries, and possesses an unusual degree of information respecting them, has assured me, that the rite of human sacrifice is known and extensively practised both to the northward and southward of Ganjam ; that in Cuttack, the Rajas of Boad, and the neigh-



bouring chiefs, though they will not own to it themselves, admit that in their fathers' time, such things took place among them.

"Indeed, there seems reason to suppose that these wild tribes, who now inhabit the most inaccessible parts of the mountains and forests, are the descendants of the aborigines of the whole country. In their religion, we find traces of the primitive elemental worship of the Vedas, before it was overlaid by the superstructure which now almost conceals it from our eyes, as well as from those of the generality of the Hindus themselves; and it would be curious if the impious superstition, which we would now endeavour to eradicate, can trace its origin to the purer and simpler form of adoration, which we have been taught to consider the ancient religion of India, as compared with the relatively modern mythology which has sprung from, and overgrown it.

"To return from these speculations, enough has been said to show that human sacrifices are practised by others than the Khonds; that the rite prevails over a wide extent of country, among tribes hardly known to us; fully enough to support the opinion I have already expressed of the futility of partial efforts for its suppression, and the inexpediency and hopelessness of violent ones. The enormity of the crime, and the extent of the misery which it occasions, call for our interference. Assuming this to be the case, and that to ensure success, our efforts must be steady, progressive, and systematical, I shall now endeavour to suggest something of an outline of the plan, on which I think they should be directed, leaving out the details, and indeed many of the more essential parts, which in my opinion may be better discussed hereafter.

"The first and most obvious measure, is the promotion of intercourse between the Hill tribes, and the people of the low country. Its importance seems to have impressed itself upon the conviction of the Court of Directors, who have most liberally sanctioned the opening or formation of routes and passes, through these wild and difficult tracts.

"This Government has also distinctly recognized the necessity of this measure.

"In the Minutes of Consultation of the 10th September 1839, Mr. Bannerman was called upon in communication with Lieutenant Hill, and the Civil Engineer of the Division, to state what roads it would be advisable immediately to open, and the aid that he would require for this purpose. We also suggested that the line of country between Aska and Goónagudda, should be explored, and observed that a road carried between these places would open a direct communication between

Nagpore and Ganjam, passing through the heart of the Khond country.

“Great credit is due to Major Campbell, for his attempts to promote the intercourse between the Khonds of the Goomsur Maliahs, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring plains. All encouragement should be given to the petty traffic or barter which has been established between them; and to every thing which brings the Hill tribes into more frequent contact with the people of the low country.

“With the extension of their commerce, their wants will encrease, new ideas will be introduced among them, and alarm and suspicion will give way to feelings of confidence.

“I have great reliance upon the influence of civilization in eradicating a

Mos fuit in populis quos condidit advena Dido  
 Poscere cæde Deos veniam, ac flagrantibus aris.  
 (Infandum dictu !) parvos imponere natos.  
 Urna reducebat miserandos annua casus, &c.  
 Silius Italicus.  
 Punic Lib. 4, v. 767 et seq.

custom, which Mr. Ilume says, though most nations have been guilty of it, “has never prevailed much in any civilized nation, if we except the Carthaginians; for the

Tyrians soon abolished it.” But these very exceptions, while perhaps they go to prove the rule, will not warrant us in neglecting any other means of suppressing this iniquitous superstition.

“The progress of civilization is necessarily slow, even under the most favorable circumstances, what then can we expect it to be among the jungles, and mountain fastnesses of Orissa? Are we prepared to adjourn for an indefinite period the extinction of these bloody rites, of these cruel outrages against the laws both of God and man, committed though they be, under the influence of superstition, and handed down to their present perpetrators by the traditions of uncounted generations?

“And I would ask at what stage of their progress in civilization are we to expect that the Khonds and Sourahs, the Gonds and the Coles, will abandon the practice? We have seen that in Goomsur, which is so differently situated from any other part of the range of country in which it prevails, after a solemn promise given to abstain from the sacrifices, by their Moolikoos and elders, the Khonds have relapsed into the practice, if indeed they ever discontinued it. However strenuously therefore I would advocate the opening of roads, and the encouragement of intercourse with the Hill tribes, I am not inclined to rely exclusively on these means.

“I admit indeed, that they are the first, and I believe that in the end they are likely to be the most efficacious; but I believe that there are

other measures to be taken simultaneously with them, the expediency of which, though less obvious, and perhaps even doubtful at first sight, will nevertheless be hereafter manifest, and the immediate adoption of which will accelerate, and render certain, the success of the others.

“The complete independence claimed by the Hill tribes strike every one who reads the papers describing them. It appears to me that it is desirable to take every proper opportunity of removing this impression, and of accustoming the Hill tribes to look to us as the ruling power, to whom obedience is due. I am fully impressed with the difficulty of this. I clearly recognize and assent to the principle laid down by Mr. Russell, that we should avoid committing the Government by any order which it might not have the means to enforce. But occasions will arise when our interference may be exercised without risk of compromising ourselves, and we may always keep in view, the policy of improving our influence among the people; and at the same time strengthening our hold over the chiefs. If, as Mr. Bannerman supposes, it is found necessary to establish posts for the security of our communications, (when they shall have been opened) instead of employing our regular sepoys upon this duty, might not a corps be formed among the Hill tribes themselves?

“As our intercourse becomes more frequent, it will hardly be possible for us to avoid taking an interest in the political relations of the chiefs towards each other, and towards the Hill tribes who inhabit the neighbouring country, but who hardly acknowledge their power.

“I have already strongly deprecated the employment of violent means, and of all instruments of coercion. I should the most deprecate the forcible interference of the chiefs—it would effectually alarm and alienate from us the Hill tribes, without effecting our object, for rather than risk their own doubtful influence, the chiefs would play a double game; the odium of interference would be thrown upon us; and the sacrifices connived at, perhaps secretly encouraged, by those whom we would employ to suppress them. But this is no reason for our continuing in our former policy towards the chiefs themselves.

“If our relations were placed upon an improved footing with them, I think that we might usefully employ their influence among the Khonds, not for their subjugation, but in many ways, which are not those of coercion, nor of violence. There can be little doubt that their co-operation would be invaluable to us; in opening our communications through their country; in establishing marts, or fairs, where the Hill people might barter their produce against that of the low country; in fixing upon military posts for

the protection of the roads; in supplying the garrisons with provisions and necessaries; and in inducing their dependants, or people of the neighbouring Hill tribes to enlist with us.

“The good dispositions of the present Kalahundy Raja, certainly deserve to be cultivated. The line of road which we have suggested should be first examined, and which Mr. Bannerman appears to consider the most eligible that could be made, passes through his capital (Goonagudda) and I doubt not, from the cordial reception which he gave to Lieutenant Hill, and his party, that his assistance may be confidently reckoned upon in carrying our suggestions into effect.

“It is probably to these points, that the first attention of the Officer who is appointed to act as Commissioner should be directed. Since I have more attentively considered the subject, I must confess that its difficulty has appeared to me in a much stronger light than I originally saw it, and that my views have therefore undergone some modification. Thus, I am ready to admit that the deputation of an European Officer to the Khonds themselves might, in the present state of the country, be rather productive of harm, than of good; and that to send him among so wild a race, without military escort, might possibly lead to disastrous consequences. In proposing that Captain Hill, (or whoever is to be sent) should proceed in the first instance to Goonagudda, I would recommend that his mission should ostensibly be for the purpose of procuring the Raja's assistance to the opening of the communication I have before adverted to. He might be accompanied by an Officer of the Survey Department, draftsmen, and a detachment of Sappers, as well as an escort of Infantry. I think that he should be placed in communication with the Governor General's Agent at Sumbulpore, and the Resident at Nagpore, and perhaps immediately under the orders of one of these Officers. He should endeavour to procure every possible information, both as to the immediate object of his mission, and to every other particular connected with the country, and its inhabitants.

“To cultivate an intercourse with the Hill population, to improve our political relations with their chiefs, and to impress the tribes themselves with a just, and at the same time favorable idea of our power, and of our disposition towards them, these seem to me the chief, perhaps the only effectual means of accomplishing our object. Hereafter when our authority is better established, and our intentions better understood, we shall be able to introduce auxiliary measures. These however, will require the most careful consideration before they are determined upon, and they must be carried into effect in a systematic manner.

" Their operation must not be confined to one District, but must extend over the whole tract of country where the practice of human sacrifice prevails. In the present state of our information, it would be premature to discuss what these measures should be, and I will only advert to one, which has already suggested itself to the Court of Directors, whether as in the case of Thuggee, special tribunals should not be constituted for the trial of the wretches who now supply the victims, and live by kidnapping and selling for slaughter their fellow-creatures.

" It is impossible however, that their views can be fully accomplished by an Officer, whose authority extends over but a portion of the wide area of country, which they embrace; by one moreover, who is already fully occupied with other important duties. If a strenuous attempt is to be made at all, it will require the most unremitting attention, and the undivided efforts of the Officer to whom it is committed. In the first instance it may be expedient to assign to him particular limits, and to prescribe the exact course which he is to follow. Hereafter, when we shall have made some progress in the undertaking, a wide discretion and jurisdiction must be allowed to him. In Cuttack, in the dominions of the Nagpore Raja, and in the adjoining Zemindaries, and Samasthanums, in the Hill Districts of Vizagapatam and Ganjam, he must have authority to act. It matters not under whose orders. Some of these countries, where there can be little doubt that human sacrifice prevails, are immediately dependent on the Bengal Presidency. It may be fitting, therefore, that he should act directly under the Supreme Government; or he may be placed, as I have before suggested, under the Governor General's Agent at Sumbulpore, or the Resident at Nagpore. But unity of action is indispensable, and in the cause of humanity, I cannot doubt that he would meet with zealous co-operation from the local authorities of both Presidencies."

The other members of the Madras Government having expressed their entire concurrence in the views expressed in His Lordship's Minute, the propositions contained therein, were forwarded for the consideration of the Government of India, who replied as follows on 3rd May 1841:

" The Governor General in Council entirely participates in the strong anxiety evinced by Lord Elphinstone and the Government of Fort St. George, to put an end to the savage practice of human sacrifice, unfortunately so prevalent among the wild tribes of Ganjam and the neighbouring Districts of Orissa and Behar; and believes, with His Lordship, that the

Letter from the Government of India, approving and confirming the propositions contained in Lord Elphinstone's Minute; and suggesting the line of conduct to be observed by the Officer entrusted with the mis-

sion into the Khond country. best hope of success is in cautious, and gradual

measures, by which, without any direct attack upon national customs, or religious prejudices, the natural march of civilization may be securely facilitated.

"The plan which Lord Elphinstone has conceived, in order to bring about in the course of time, the conclusion so much to be desired is, thoroughly approved. It embraces the following measures :

"*First.*—The opening of routes and passes through the wild tracts, more particularly between Aska and Goonagudda.

"*Second.*—The encouraging of the commercial intercourse between the Hills and the plains by all available means, and the establishing of Fairs or Marts for that purpose.

"*Third.*—The raising of a semi-Military Police force from among the Hill men, upon a footing similar to that of the Paik Company of Cuttack.

"As to the mode in which these measures may be accomplished, the Governor General in Council concurs with the Government of Fort St. George, that an Officer subordinate in all respects to the present Commissioner, may, with a reasonable prospect of success, be sent, suitably accompanied and escorted, to negotiate for the assistance of the Raja of Goonagudda towards the opening of the communication above adverted to. He should, as suggested, communicate with the Governor General's Agent at Sumbulpore, and with the Resident at Nagpore; and it need scarcely be observed, that he should cautiously approach any inquisition into human sacrifices, and confine himself very closely to the immediate purposes of his mission. Yet it does not seem to His Lordship in Council, that it would be otherwise than prudent, if opportunity should occur to him, of discussing the subject with friendly chiefs of influence, that he should declare the extreme abhorrence with which this custom is regarded by the British Government, and its right and determination unrelentingly to punish every attempt to entrap or to steal British subjects, for the purpose of immolation.

"The ulterior measures contemplated by Lord Elphinstone's Minute, though altogether in accordance with the judicious propositions suggested for immediate adoption; and such as it will in all probability become eventually necessary to carry into execution, are yet far distant, and need not now be commented on. For the present, all that is done should be tentative and gradual; and for these as well as other reasons, it seems proper that the Government of Fort St. George, should superintend the proceedings, and that their more immediate control should be in the hands

of the Local Agent to that Government. This Agent may be authorized to enter into communication with the Commissioner of Cuttack, who will be furnished with a copy of this correspondence, and upon whose cordial co-operation he may entirely depend."

The above propositions having been submitted for the approval of the Hon. Court of Directors, the Court replied as follows, in a Despatch, dated 24th August 1842.

" We entirely approve of the measures suggested by Lord Elphinstone in his Minute of the 16th March 1841, and there would appear to be no reason to apprehend that the Khonds themselves would be disposed to throw any obstacles in their way.

Extract from a Despatch from the Hon'ble Court of Directors to the Madras Government, No. 27, dated 24th August 1842. Approve of the measures suggested by Lord Elphinstone ; and state what further measures the Court consider necessary for the present and ultimate suppression of the rite.

" The main object of our endeavours should be to cultivate friendly intercourse with the Khonds, and to lead them to look to us as their protectors ; but at the same time carefully to abstain from any measures which might induce them to suspect, on

our parts, any desire to interfere with their internal concerns ; or to employ our power to suppress practices, which however odious and revolting in our eyes, are by them regarded with the deepest veneration.

" It would appear that all attempts to interfere directly with these practices must be limited to the low country, where every effort must be made to apprehend and convict all persons, engaged in kidnapping or decoying victims to the Hills, for the purpose of selling them to the Khonds, to be sacrificed as Meriahs.

" Among the Khonds themselves, advantage should be taken of any favorable opportunities which may occur of informing them of the abhorrence with which we regard their sanguinary rites, and of our determination to protect our subjects in the plains, and to punish with severity all parties whom we may detect in kidnapping or decoying them to the Hills, for the purpose of sacrifice. Further than this however, we think, it would for the present at least, be undesirable to go, as it would be obviously impolitic to hold out threats of punishment, when it would be beyond our power, to carry them into execution.

" For the ultimate suppression of these revolting practices, we must principally look to the spread of enlightenment among the Khonds by facilitating their intercourse with the more civilized people of the plains ; by teaching them to look upon us with confidence as their friends and protectors, and thus engaging them to regard our wishes with deference."

The Madras Government on receiving the sanction of the Supreme Government to the measures proposed by Lord Elphinstone, issued the following orders :

“ The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Governor in Council is pleased to resolve, that Lieutenant Macpherson, who has this day been appointed an Assistant to the Governor's Agent in Ganjam, shall, in that capacity, be deputed to carry into effect, under the immediate orders of the Agent, and in communication with the Governor General's Agent at Sumbulpore, the Resident at Nagpore, and the Commissioner at Cuttack, the preliminary measures proposed in His Lordship's Minute of the 16th March 1841; Lieutenant

Extract from the Orders of the Madras Government. Appointing Lieutenant Macpherson, to carry out the preliminary measures proposed by Lord Elphinstone. Details instructions for his guidance. Desires him to consider it his first and most important duty to submit a full report of every particular connected with the country.

Macpherson will therefore proceed, after assuming his Office under the Agent, at the opening of the season when the Jungles are least unhealthy, and which is understood to be about the middle of November, with Captain Hill (if he can consistently with the arrangements of the Surveyor General, be employed on this duty) some Draftsmen, a party of Sappers, and an Escort of Infantry, accompanied by a scientific Medical Officer who will be selected for the purpose to Goonagudda, with the avowed object of procuring the Raja's assistance to the opening of the road through his country. Captain Hill having already visited this place will be able to afford much useful information collected on his former journey, and might be employed in surveying a part of the road; while Lieutenant Macpherson might find ostensible occupation in surveying another portion of it; but the latter Officer will consider it his first and most important business, to make himself acquainted with every particular connected with the country, its trade, resources, and wants, of which he will submit a full report through the Agent; and of the dispositions of the inhabitants and Rajas of the neighbouring districts, as far as he is able to ascertain them.

“ The prevalence of human sacrifice will of course be the subject of his early but cautious investigation; and no proper opportunity should be lost of expressing abhorrence of the custom. Care however, should be taken never to allude to it as a *Khond custom*, but as a custom prevalent among barbarous tribes in every part of the world, repudiated by all civilized beings, and equally contrary to the law of God and man.

“ There will be no difficulty in doing this among the Chiefs, who are principally Hindus, and who, if they are guilty of participation, or even connivance in this custom, have not the same excuse for their conduct as



the tribes around them. But while these investigations are going on, the work on the road should be steadily prosecuted, and the communication opened as soon as possible."

In conformity with the above instructions from his Government, Captain Macpherson forwarded the following report of the information he had collected, on 24th April 1842 :

"The relation of these Khond Tribes to the Zemindaries in which they are respectively included, was originally founded here, as I believe, in all similar cases elsewhere, upon a single common want, and was accompanied by forms which marked the relative power and civilization of the parties. Mutual aid against aggression, was its first condition, whilst the Khonds, besides, generally assisted the Rajas in their offensive wars. The Hindu Chiefs were reminded of the origin of their authority by formal acts of investiture, which were performed at their accession by the patriarchs of the most important tribes ; while the heads of the primitive race received from them, in return, not as vassals, but as inferiors in rank and in civilization, the recognition of their ancient dignities, and such honorary appellations as they were pleased to bestow.

Extract from Captain Macpherson's report of the information he had collected—Describes the general relation of the Khond tracts to the zemindaries in which they are included; the Khond population, the Benniah Khonds distinguished by their partial adoption of Khond manners and customs; their notions of witchcraft,—The Maliah Khonds; religious ideas of the sacrificing Khonds; of the non-sacrificing Khonds; origin of the difference; feelings with which the sacrificing and non-sacrificing tribes respectively regarded his visit—sentiments with which he impressed the Khonds concerning the object of Government; causes and consequences of female infanticide; relation of the sexes among the Khonds. Of the population which is neither of Khond nor of Hindu race; the Dombango or Panwa who provide the Khonds with victims; the Jahinga; the Goona; the Military chiefs or "Tat" Rajas; the paiks; religion of the hill Rajas of Orissa.

"The Khonds made also certain offerings of produce, which did not import any thing resembling feudal dependence ; and the other chief public acts by which they manifested their attachment, seem to have been that of assembling at the Dusseral festival, to eat the buffaloes offered in sacrifice at the Hindu capitals ; and that of giving their aid to drag the cars, at the feast of Juggernaut ; and

generally speaking, the same relationship subsists between the same parties at the present day.

"The Khonds are divided into two classes, which pass insensibly into each other.—The class of Benniah, and that of Maliah Khonds. The Benniah Khonds inhabit a lower range of the Ghauts, and the adjacent tracts, and are distinguished solely, by their partial adoption of Hindu ideas, manners and customs ; the most advanced amongst them pressing against the impassable pale of Hindu civil and religious life. The process of conver-

sion is going on visibly. Sections of tribes which are now Bennisah, were purely Maliah in their habits 50 years ago.

“ The belief of the Bennisah Khonds upon the subject of witchcraft and magic, influences in a considerable degree nearly all their habits of life ; and they retain, with respect to them, nearly unmodified the ideas of the Maliah Khonds of this quarter. But while the Hill tribes exact compositions in the spirit of their usages, for injuries inflicted by those arts ; the Khonds of the low country, following an ancient, but long disused Hindu practice, have until very recently assigned to them the extreme penalties, which have been generally their meed elsewhere.

“ The views of the Khonds upon this subject, are chiefly founded upon their peculiar doctrine, that death is not the necessary, and appointed lot of man ; but it may be incurred, either as a special penalty for offences against the gods, by their appointment, or by magical agency, purely human. The gods are held to inflict death either by ordinary means, as by a wound received in battle, or by the agency of men, who are endowed by them, with the power of transformation (called Mleepa) which enables them to assume the forms of wild beasts for the purpose of destruction, or to enter into other men's bodies to cause disease and death ; and this gift is considered to be very commonly dispensed, as the Khonds, at least of these districts, attribute all deaths by tigers to persons so endowed ; for they believe that the gods did not create the tiger to prey upon man, but to hunt, to provide food for him, much game being left to them by this animal in the open cultivated spots in the valleys, where it generally strikes down its prey : and all sickness is, in the same way, attributed immediately to a god, or to a man who is thus gifted ; *magicians* are, however, believed to have acquired the power to take away life at pleasure, without reference to the will of the gods, by dark and impious arts which are purely human.

“ Against the class of sorcerers gifted by the gods, those who have suffered by them, frequently rise, to compel them by threats of plunder, and by violence, and by levying heavy compositions, to promise to cease to afflict them ; but the magician experiences a different doom. In Pondacole, until very recently, he expiated his crime in the flames, at a stake which was placed close by the funeral pile of his victim.

“ A person, whose testimony may be implicitly relied upon, saw three persons suffer death in this way at Pipulpunka in Pondacole in the years 1834 and 1835. A foolish looking old woman was pointed out to me in a neighbouring village, for whom the faggots had been several times

prepared, but who had escaped on the introduction of our authority into Souradah. The guilt of sorcerers and magicians is always ascertained and declared by a priest, and the imputation, whatever may be the consequences, appears to be never denied by the accused.

“ The remaining distinctions in the simple life of the Benniah Khonds are these. They marry exclusively in their class; but maintain their blood pure, avoiding marriages with persons of the same tribe. They adopt the Hindu dress and mode of building, and speak the Ooria language. They abstain religiously from the cultivation of turmeric, the staple product of Maliah industry, and the most valuable crop of their soil. They exchange the Khond for the Hindu plough. They tread out their grain, not with their own feet, but by those of their cattle. They use milk and ghee which are abhorred by the Maliah Khonds, and they forego as barbarous, the practice of dancing in which the latter delight.

“ Such are the Benniah Khonds, the result of the slow and difficult process of assimilation betwixt the primitive and the more civilized people.

“ While the whole Khond race professes the same nature, worships, adores the same powers which animate and control the sensible forms of the universe, upon whose functions they chiefly depend, and the divine energy as associated with certain abstract ideas, and sentiments and local objects, the tribes of the northern tracts (the only portion of the sacrificing population whose opinions I have had an opportunity to ascertain exactly) regard the earth god as supreme, and at the same time attribute to him in his character of regent of the operations of nature, pure malevolence towards man; and they believe, that while no observances or course of conduct can change his malignant aspect into benignity, his malevolence may still be placed in partial, or in complete abeyance by the sacrifice of human life, which he has expressly ordained.\*

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\* It appears however from Captain Macpherson's subsequent reports, and also from a very interesting pamphlet published by that Officer in London, in 1852, on the Khond religion, that his first information on this subject was erroneous. The Khonds hold that there is but one Supreme Being, self-existing, the source of good, and creator of the universe, of the inferior gods, and of man. This Divinity is called in some districts Boore Pennu or the god of light; in others Bella Pennu, or the sun god. Boore Pennu, in the beginning, created for himself a consort who became Tari Pennu, or the earth goddess, and the source of evil, whose wrath the Khonds propitiate by human sacrifice. The reader, who may be desirous of obtaining further information of the superstitions of this singular race, is referred to Captain Macpherson's pamphlet, which contains a full and graphic account of every thing connected with the Khond religion.

"The Khonds of the middle region, upon the other hand seem to believe that the sun god, and the earth god exercise an equal and joint supremacy, forming an inseparable dual. No malevolence towards mankind is ascribed to them; on the contrary they are merciful and benign towards those who observe their ordinances, and discharge their rites, instead of delighting in cruel offerings; they abhor the inhuman ritual of the northern, southern, and western districts; and they would resent with destruction any semblance of participation in it by their worshippers.

"It is plain that there must exist an endless diversity of opinions, an infinite variety of sentiments, and of feelings amongst this widely spread people, upon every point of their vague, fluctuating and undefined superstition, some of the leading doctrines of which I have attempted to seize, and to fix in exact language; and it is to be expected that the two sets of elementary ideas which I have found to prevail, respectively amongst the most northern tribes which practice the rite of sacrifice, and the most southern tribes which abstain from it, will be found to approximate, to blend, and to run into each other in every possible way. But the conclusion at which I have arrived, in opposition to pre-conceived views with respect to these two sets of ideas, and to the distinct rituals which spring from them, is this, that they are equally ancient and original, that the tribes which do not now offer human sacrifice, have not relinquished that rite, as other barbarous races have done, either in consequence of impressions received through contact with superior civilization, or as the result of gradual mental development, for they are decidedly behind the northern population which offers sacrifice, both in respect of the number and the variety of those impressions, and in point of general advancement. But, that those non-sacrificing tribes, entertaining ideas of some of the attributes of God with which the rite is incompatible, have always held it in abhorrence.

"I experienced, however, considerable difficulty in establishing the confidential intercourse which was essential to the free and unrestrained expression of these opinions. The impressions which existed amongst the Khond population respecting the Government, which were derived from our operations in this quarter in 1836 and 1837, were deeply marked by fear and mistrust; and notwithstanding the use of every art calculated to dissipate apprehension, and to give assurance that my intentions were purely friendly, all the villages were deserted before me. I therefore halted in the first valley within the hills, until I felt quite satisfied that

different ideas were both established there, and had in some degree preceded me. The nearest hamlets soon gained confidence. Then a section of a tribe ventured to come out from the forest:—not rushing into my camp in wild and fantastic procession, armed, and dancing with shouts and stunning music, as is the fashion of these Khonds, but approaching without arms, in extreme fear, and requiring much encouragement to come to my tents, while spies from all the tribes around anxiously awaited the result of the experiment. The alarm of the first comers having been dispelled, other parties by degrees, but very cautiously imitated their example, and I then moved on. Another considerable pause at the next stage brought all the tribes within a circuit of many miles to my tents; and thenceforward, roads were laboriously cut for my passage through the forest, and I had to choose between those offered to me by the rival tribes who daily crowded my camp. Under these circumstances, I felt some degree of confidence that I should not materially misapprehend the obscure and difficult phenomena which I wished to observe, and that I could generally communicate the impressions which I desired.

“The non-sacrificing tribes expressed, in the strongest language, the grief and indignation with which they contemplated the impious and revolting worship which was in progress, and numerous incidents gave assurance of their sincerity.

“Their fields were strictly guarded by night and day, lest an enemy should desecrate the soil by introducing a shred of the flesh, while they avowed, it may be observed, their somewhat contradictory fears from such an act, first and chiefly, lest the wrath of their greater deities should arise to their destruction, cursing their soil with barrenness, and denying them offspring; and, secondly, lest some of their lesser gods should acquire a taste for the dreadful food, and desire to be gratified with it in future. For it was believed that experience had proved the latter to be a well-grounded fear. In a spot of jungle in Cattingia, which was very valuable, as the constant resort of wild animals for the sake of a salt which effloresces on its soil, some people of Guddapore, several years ago, buried a fragment of the flesh of a victim. From that time forth, no game has been killed there by the huntsmen of Cattingia, while those of Guddapore find it with unfailing certainty. These are believed still to supply the genius loci with the desired food.

“The Khonds of the village of Mahrigoodi having been accidentally asked to dig some holes for the stakes of a grass-shed in my camp, expressed their readiness to fell wood, or to render any other service;

but declined to disturb, in any way, the surface of the earth at that particular time, the days immediately preceding the full moon in December, when it was being broken all round for the reception of the flesh of victims; and it may be observed that a Khond, or a Hindu, who has been present at a sacrifice, would here run the risk of being put to death, were he to approach a non-sacrificing village within seven days after the ceremony; but after that time he is reckoned pure.

"The sacrificing tribes of Guddapore, upon the other hand, were everywhere in a state of high exultation and excitement, engaged in performing, or in preparing to perform the great and vital rite, upon the observance of which they believed that their own well-being and that of all the world besides depended.

"It was fully expected, both by them, and by the non-sacrificing population, that I would now declare, and perhaps enforce the final and absolute determination of the Government respecting the rite. The latter division hoped fervently that I was come to put an end to it, and was anxious that I should understand that it would co-operate with me in the work, at a word. The former held very different views; and its tribes had taken counsel, separately, and together, to meet the critical occasion.

"Two general impressions prevailed amongst them. The first was that the Government was indifferent to the sacrifice. This view was founded upon the fact that no decisive and comprehensive measures had been adopted with respect to it, while partial interference had taken place.

"The second idea was, that although the Government certainly disapproved and desired the abolition of the practice, it was conscious that it had no just right to interfere with it; and the following consideration in support of this view were communicated to me by several persons, as forming the ground upon which the Khonds stood, and which they held to be perfectly unassailable in reason and in justice. They were thus stated:

1. Because the rite has been practised from the beginning.
2. Because it has been sanctioned by the Rajas.
3. Because it is essential to the existence of mankind in health, and to the continuation of the species.
4. Because it is essential to the productive powers of nature, by which men live.
5. Because it is necessary to the gods for food.
6. Because its suppression by the Government would be as unjust as the abolition of the Hindu worship at Poori; but that the Khonds are

willing to submit to a decree which shall include with theirs, the worship of the Hindus, and that of the Mussulmans.

7. Because the victims are the property of those who offer them, being bought with the fruits of their labour upon the soil.

8. Because the parents of the victims make them over fully to the Khonds through the procurer.

9. And finally because the gods have positively ordained the rite.

"The course which circumstances, and the spirit of my instructions appeared to prescribe to me, equally with a view to immediate and to ulterior objects, was plain, but difficult in practice.

"It is to be remembered, that no distinct relations have been established with the Khonds as subjects, anywhere but in the few Mootahs of Goomsur. Hence the idea of allegiance to our power has necessarily never entered into their minds. They have no conception of any social relations, except those which exist betwixt the different groups of tribes; and betwixt these and the zemindaries. The Government they regard with very various uncertain and inconsistent feelings, amongst which vague apprehension predominates. In these sections of the population, partly owing to their character which is deficient in boldness, partly owing to their experience in 1837, which was calculated to produce this result, the sentiment of fear prevails in their conceptions of our power, to a degree which I have not seen elsewhere.

"I therefore asserted, that the designs of the Government towards the Hill people were those of paternal benevolence alone, not as was presumed of hostility, that the existence of the rite of human sacrifice was a subject of the deepest concern to the Government, and of horror to all mankind beyond these hills; and that the right of the Government to suppress it, as a rite, which all mankind concur in condemning, not as erroneous, but as impious and unlawful, did not admit of a question. If, when these assertions were made and argued upon, it cannot be said that conviction was produced in the discerning minds of the Khond patriarchs, their previous judgments were certainly modified, or suspended; and confidence and good will, and the inclination to believe that benefit alone was intended towards them, and the disposition to yield obedience in return, were engendered; while the Government was committed to no specific course of procedure.

"The practice of female infanticide, and the usages with which it is connected, alternately as a cause and an effect, deforms the system of life of a large division of this middle Khond population, including that of all

Tondacole, (with the exception of Degee) the tribes of Goolodye, those of Bori, and much of the sacrificing population in the quarter of Guddapore. In Bodoglioro, the custom is regarded with abhorrence.

"This usage appears to have existed in these tracts from time immemorial, and in them generally, the life of no female child is spared, except when a woman's first child is a female, or when the head of a tribe, or of a branch desires to form connections by intermarriage. The infants are destroyed by exposure in the jungle ravines immediately after their birth, and I found many villages without a single female child.

"This custom has no connection with,—bears no reference whatever to religious feeling. The facts which the Khonds allege as accounting for, and as justifying it, are amongst the most obvious and necessary of its consequences; reference being had to the usages which here prevail, relative to the property which is involved in marriage contracts; and to the very peculiar ideas which exist respecting the relations of the sexes.

"The Khond bridegroom, everywhere, gives a consideration for his wife to her father, which is called "*Seddee*," in contradistinction to the *price* which is paid for a woman of any other race, who, as a wife, becomes property. Should a woman quit her husband at any time, he is entitled to the re-payment of this consideration, deducting the nuptial expences which the father has incurred. While, should she become the wife of another, the father has a right to recover the same amount from him.

"Now the peculiar rules and habits which affect the marriage tie in these tracts, are barely compatible with the fulfilment of the first object of that contract. Women have the right to quit their husbands at pleasure, with this sole restriction, that they cannot leave them when pregnant, nor one year after the birth of a child; and upon the other hand, no man who is without a wife, can refuse to receive any woman who chooses to enter his house to become, in that capacity, its mistress. And the women of Pandacole, for example, exercise this right of change, on an average, four or five times in their lives; some twice as often, but very few not at all. And to do so is a very easy process. In some parts of the country, in a village containing a hundred men, not above twenty, or at most, thirty women are to be found, so there is always abundant room for choice; while should the repugnance of the person preferred be extreme, or should there be any other temporary difficulty, his tribe must receive the seeker of his bed until it is overcome, or she would pass on heaping shame upon her rejectors, declaring of them "that such people had once lived, but had ceased to exist," and deep disgrace would attach to them.



“The wife, upon changing her husband and domicile, takes with her, her child or children, if they be young; the father reclaiming them at his pleasure at a later period. No new marriage ceremony is performed on the occasion of such change, but the new connection is, in every point of view, a marriage, and the woman is, as before, a wife.

“So much trouble and vexation, so many serious consequences arise, say the Khonds, out of each such matrimonial change; out of the exaction by the deserted husband of his original payment to the woman’s father; and out of the simultaneous process of levying a like sum from the new spouse, that a married daughter is to any man, and to his tribe, unless he be a rich patriarch, a curse.

“The amount of the marriage consideration, and the degree of difficulty attendant, either upon its re-payment by fathers, or on its production by husbands (voluntary and involuntary,) as well as the power of the woman to range amongst these, all depend, of course, upon the proportion which exists between males and females. In Pondacole, where few female children are permitted to live, the marriage consideration amounts to farm stock, &c., of the value of from rupees 50 to 70; so that no one who has a daughter married can tell, save during the intervals to which I have alluded, what part of his property he may consider his own; nor can his tribe, which is answerable for his engagements, know what sum it may be called upon, at any time, to make good for him, nor what important payments it may have to enforce in his favor, against members of other tribes.

“In the adjacent district of Bodoghoru, on the other hand, where the practice of female infanticide is regarded with detestation, the consideration given for a wife is nearly nominal, not exceeding three or four rupees. Hence every man there is married, or, as is extremely common, from the abundance of women, lives in concubinage, which is regarded as an honorable connection; and wives, although in theory as free to change their husbands as in Pondacole, have no power to enjoy that right.

“The Khonds of Pondacole, it is to be observed, consider the position of a concubine as highly disgraceful to a woman; and they partly justify the practice of infanticide, on the ground of its preventing that evil. But their feeling upon this point is, I believe, from the whole spirit of their manners, clearly a secondary one; and has arisen out of the high marriageable value of their females.

“The extreme license which exists with respect to the marriage tie, does not appear to conduce in any degree to fidelity to their voluntary

attachments, on the part of Khond women. On the contrary, their great boast is the number of intrigues of which their lovers have been convicted, and have paid the penalty called "pronjoo," a fixed amount of fine, of twelve head of cattle, and one pig. A woman advanced in life will taunt a younger female with the remark, that before her age, six or eight "pronjoos" had been paid for her sake. And the same feelings and the same practice, it is to be remarked, exist among the people of Bodoghor, who do not destroy their female infants.

"The desertion of his wife is a matter of great concern to a Khond husband, unless he is rich enough immediately to supply her place. But in cases of infidelity, if the "pronjoo" is readily produced, he is held to have no serious cause of complaint. Should a Khond of these districts have even ocular testimony of his wife's faithlessness, he never proceeds to any act of violence against the lover; while to strike a woman, or even to insult her seriously, would entail lasting disgrace upon a man's family.

"The convicted wife is excluded from her husband's house generally for a day, until the "pronjoo" is adjusted, when the affair is considered settled. In a few tribes, indeed, which may perhaps value themselves upon a nicer sense, and observance of the point of honor, it is customary for the husband and his wife's lover to do a species of battle previous to the settlement of damages, but not at outrance, with bow and battle-axe, but with arms of courtesy. The combatants cast loose their long hair, and each seizing his adversary's side locks, they wrestle furiously for some hours until both are utterly exhausted. Then the "pronjoo" is agreed upon with some modifications, and a dinner of reconciliation is eaten.

"At the lowest estimate, above one thousand female children must be destroyed annually in the districts of Pandacole, Goolodye and Bori.

"The inhabitants of the Khond country, who are neither of Khond, nor of Hindu race; but respecting whom, from their character and habits, and from the manner in which they are associated with the Khonds, it is of consequence to have correct information, are of three classes:—

1. The "Dombango," who are known in the low country by the Hindu name of "Panwa," or weavers.
2. The "Gahinga," who are called in the low country "Sitra."
3. The "Goonah," who bear the same name amongst the Hindus, and who are found in the low country only, near the hills.

"Of the origin or the history of any of these races nothing certain is known. The tradition of the Khonds respecting the Dombango is, that they have sprung generally from the illicit offspring of Khond women, or from

that of Hindu women who have visited the hills for traffic, or during times of famine; and it is certain that the descendants of several families of the Gouro caste, who removed from Souradah to the hills during a drought which occurred about 50 years ago, are now regarded as pure Dombango.

"This class of people is attached by families to particular Khond tribes, by whose names they are distinguished as the "Syalinga Dombango," but they frequently change their place of residence and their protectors. In the country betwixt Kimedý and Boad, their social position is seen to range between a state approaching to equality with the Khonds, and one bordering upon servility. But they nowhere attain to the former point, nor sink distinctly to the latter. They are always inferior and protected, but are always free. The Khonds in some districts rarely, and in others frequently, buy their daughters for wives; but save in some parts of Bodoghoró alone, they never give their children to them in return.

"The Dombango may, and frequently does acquire land by purchase, but as the full rights of citizenship in a tribe attach to the possession of property in its soil, rights which involve a circle of mutual responsibilities, both for private engagements and for public conduct, the Khonds practically prevent as much as possible their acquisition, or their long retention of such property. The Dombango, with the rare exceptions of those who possess land in certain quarters, have no voice in the public councils of the Khonds, although they constantly sway them in private. Their proper occupations are said to be "weaving, trade and theft." As the brokers and interpreters, on all occasions, betwixt the Khonds and Hindus, they manage the whole commerce of the hills. They are the musicians at festivals, and they provide the human victims in the sacrificing districts, by kidnapping or purchasing them in the low country, and occasionally by the sale of their own offspring. They keep up constant intercourse and connection by marriage, with the families of their race who live in the low country near the ghauts, and these, at least in Souradah, uniformly call a priest from the hills for the performance of their domestic ceremonies. They are of the Khond religion, and frequently act as Janis or priests for its lesser rites; but the families who reside in the tracts under the hills, have acquired many ideas of Hinduism. On changing their residence from a sacrificing tract to a district which does not sacrifice, they are not free from the imputation of easily adapting their system of faith to their interests. The Dombangoes, in the Northern districts are unwarlike in their habits, while in some of the Southern tracts they are held to be quite equal to the Khonds in courage.

“ The character of this race forms a striking contrast in all its features to that of the Khonds, and curiously exemplifies the power of circumstances to produce moral and intellectual diversity. The masters of the soil form a bold, free, rude, laborious, mountain peasantry, of simple but not undignified manners ; open, faithful, and upright in their conduct ; serious and sincere in their superstition ; well informed of their rights, and resolute to defend them. The Dombangoes, excluded from property in land, and from the power to practice the only honorable art, and depressed by a sense of social inferiority, are, with the exception of those in some retired districts, a mean, false, mercenary, thievish race, who live chiefly upon the ignorance, the superstition, and the industry of the primitive people, as low priests, brokers and pedlars, sycophants and cheats.

“ I have addressed the most careful inquiry to the subject of the provision of human victims for the Khond worship by the Dombango or Panwas, by their violent abduction, their theft and their purchase in the low country, and by the sale of their own offspring, with a view to ascertain the modes of perpetrating these acts, and their exact character.

“ The Panwas who are *permanently resident upon the hills, associated with sacrificing tribes*, participate fully in the religious ideas and feelings of the Khonds, and share their belief in the absolute necessity of the great rite. Pecuniary gain, and the desire to obtain the favor of the Khonds, by whom they are protected, are amongst their chief immediate motives in procuring victims, as they are generally the only motives which they assign to strangers ; but at the same time, I believe that they are strongly influenced by the conviction, that in making provision for the observance of the chief ordinance of their gods, they perform an act of the highest religious merit.

“ Khonds, as well as Panwas, when in want, sell children as victims, very many Khonds did so after the disturbances in Goomsur, and the act is, I believe (the Panwas being inhabitants of the hills) as nearly identical in both races, as any act springing from mixed motives can be, in people, the features of whose moral character are so strikingly discriminated.

“ So admirable and so important an act is the performance of a sacrifice held to be in some districts, that a Panwa, who is a rich landholder in the Khond tract of Kothama in Kimeedy, has lately raised himself quite to the level of Khond society, by offering a human victim at his own expense, at a feast, to which all the Khonds and Panwas of the district were invited.

“ The strength and the diversity of feeling which exists on this subject even betwixt members of the same family, is shown by the following state-

ment accidentally made to me by an eye-witness. A Panwa of a sacrificing district happened to go, a few months ago, with some Khonds to Kattingia in Bodoghor, where the rite is abhorred. A relative, whom he met there, said to him, "so you have been making traffic of the blood of your offspring!" and spat in his face. The Khonds, said my informant, immediately pressed round, and most anxiously offered him every sort of consolation saying, "that buffalo of a man is ignorant that by the devotion of the life of your child to the gods, all mankind have benefited; but those gods themselves will wipe that spittle from your face."

"It is certain, that not only other Panwas, besides those who are *permanently associated*, and identified with sacrificing Khond tribes, provide victims, but that these are most generally procured, in the first instance, by Panwas of the low country, of mixed religion. Hence the question of the degree in which religious feeling enters into the motives of these procurers, a question which is obviously of high importance in the application to them of penal laws, can be determined only by special inquiry in each case.

"Of the origin of the Gahinga nothing seems to be clearly known. They are reckoned lower in rank than the Dombango, whom they nearly resemble in appearance, in character, and in pursuits.

"The Goonah are the least numerous, and the least important of these races. They hold nearly the same position in society as the Dombango.

"The only two District chiefs are the Military or "Tat" Rajas of Kattingia in Bodoghor, and Guddapore in Chinna Kinedy. The former is an old man who has some reputation for shrewdness, and for influence with the Khonds. The latter is a boy of 14, whom I observed with a view to his being turned to account as an instrument in future measures towards the Khonds; but he appeared of little promise, growing up in seclusion and in ignorance; the Brahmin teachers, who had been procured for him, having all died in the pestilential climate of Guddapore. I made his people promise to find another instructor for him. His affairs are managed by his mother, a grasping old dealer in turmeric.

"These Tat Rajas respectively acknowledge the superiority of Bodoghor, and of Chinna Kinedy, by the payment of nominal tribute, and by other forms. They enjoy small tracts of corn-land which were originally ceded to them by the Khonds for their support, and they levy certain imposts upon the hill trade. The tribes attached to them besides, make them annual offerings of good-will which are collectively of value. They possess considerable influence, but no manner of authority over the

**Khonds.** The first condition in that influence is, their sanction and countenance of every Khond usage whatever. It would immediately cease were they to presume to oppose, or to condemn, any point of the religion, or of the manners of the ancient masters of the soil. They accordingly remain perfectly neuter betwixt the sacrificing and the non-sacrificing tribes. Far from affecting disapproval of the worship of the latter, the Guddapore Raja, for example, sends his paiks in a body, at the request of the presiding patriarchs, to fire salutes in honor of the great rite upon every occasion of its performance.

“The Hill paiks are the descendants of Hindus who were anciently placed in the Khond country to maintain the influence of the Rajas, and to keep the frontier. They have nearly all mixed their blood with that of the Khonds, and have, in a considerable degree acquired their manners, habits, and feelings. They are distributed over the country in small stockades or “ghorriahts,” or in frontier posts called “goomahs.” They have adopted to a great extent the Khond superstition; but without forgetting the names of their Hindu gods, or all the ideas connected with them. They receive no pay, but subsist on small tracts of land given to them by the Khonds. They take a leading part in the riot, and festivity, which accompany the ceremony of human sacrifice, but take no share of the flesh.

“These two petty chiefs, and all the other hill Rajas of Orissa, worship almost exclusively, under names and forms endlessly varied, the goddess Doorga. It is acknowledged that they nearly all offered human victims at her shrines, one, or at the farthest, two generations ago, and it is difficult to determine when those sanguinary rites were discontinued in each case, or if they have yet finally ceased. The Brahmins of the low country assert strongly that no such practice is now thought of. The Boad Raja admitted to me that his father, and the immediate predecessors of all the neighbouring zemindaries upon the Mahanuddee had practised it. It was constantly performed by the father of the late Raja of Goomsur, at the shrine of Bagh Devi at Koladah; and according to some servants of the family, at one time, by the latter himself. There were strong grounds for suspicion that the Moherry family offered a victim in 1836 in the hill temple near Berhampore, where the rite was anciently observed by it, to a great extent. Human sacrifices are still performed, according to universal belief, in Bustar and in Jeypore, and in the adjoining zemindaries to the West and the South to the Godavery, and they are certainly performed by the Brinjoories who trade between the Nagpore and Chootesghur countries and the coast. The few Poorohits whom I have had opportu-

nities of questioning closely, and who I had reason to believe spoke truth, after dilating upon the great temptation to celebrate the rite, have ended by admitting, in some way its practice, still, and generally in the form of a question as by asking "while the gateways of the temples are drenched with the gore of sheep and oxen, at the feasts of Doorga, who can tell whether some drops of more precious blood, to bring success to the designs of the great, may not be spilt within?"

On the 18th August, the Madras Government received a further report from Captain Macpherson, of which the most important passages are as follow :

"The portion of the region of the Ghauts inhabited by Khonds, or by

"Extract from a further Report from Captain Macpherson. Defines the divisions of the Khond country with respect to the rite of sacrifice and female infanticide. Narrates his proceedings, and the conduct of the people in the four districts of Goomsur—States, the conditions on which the tribes of Bara Mootah, the first to which he directed his attention, voluntarily agreed to abandon the rite. The people of Athara Mootah, with the exception of two tracts, also agree to relinquish the sacrifice. He awaits a more favorable opportunity for dealing with the tribes of Chokapand: The people of Hodzoghoro had had determined to revert to the practice of secret offering. States the necessity of establishing distinct relations with these tribes as subjects, on the basis of the administration of justice. Suggests the measures to be adopted with this object, and the powers to be vested in the local agency. Recommends that the paiks be made the instruments for giving effect to the decisions of authority in those tracts. Suggests the formation of a Road from Sohnpore to Sumbhulpore."

Sourahs which is included in the Ganjam district, and the portion peopled by Khonds, which is included in the district of Cuttack, South of the Mahanuddee, so far as they are known to us, may be thus divided.

1. The tract of hill country which is included in the zemindaries of Goomsur, Boad, and Duspulla, the area of which may be estimated at 2,500 square miles. Its inhabitants, with the exception of a few tribes on the southern boundary of Goomsur, offer human sacrifices, but do not practise female infanticide.

2. A strip of country connected with the zemindaries of Coradah and Souradah, and about 400 square miles in superficial extent, in which neither the rite of human sacrifice, nor female infanticide is practised.

3. An irregular tract included in the zemindaries of Souradah, Coradah, Bodoghoro and Chinna Kimeddy, the area of which may be estimated at 2,000 square miles. There the Khonds do not offer human sacrifices, but the practice of female infanticide is universal. \*

4. A portion of country in the zemindaree of Bodoghoro, of which the extent may be 400 square miles. In it, neither the practice of human sacrifice, nor that of infanticide exists.

5. The remaining portion of the region of the

Ghauts which is included in the Ganjam district, and which runs from near the South-western frontier of Goomsur, in latitude  $20^{\circ}$  to beyond the 19th parallel. Its area is between 2,000 and 3,000 square miles, and it is peopled with Khonds and Sourahs, both of whom sacrifice human victims, but do not, it is believed, destroy their female offspring.

"I addressed my attention first to the people of the Bara Mootah District in Goomsur. When I lately visited Goomsur, all its patriarchs and men of influence came, and remained with me at Nowgaum, for above a fortnight. The time was spent in discussing every point connected with their situation, their religion, their relations to other Khonds, and to the Government. My chief object was to ascertain exactly their ideas and feelings, and to communicate to them a few distinct conceptions of the general views of the Government towards them, regarding the position in which they have stood towards the Government, since taking the pledge of 1838. I was anxious to avoid the formal consideration of future arrangements with them, until I should visit the hill country with power to complete them. It however became impossible, and it did not, at length, appear to be desirable, entirely to avoid the distinct contemplation of the future. And, in the end, the following propositions were made to me, which will, I conceive, convey more correct ideas of the state of mind of these tribes than any descriptive statement which I could make.

"The Khonds of Bara Mootah promise to relinquish from henceforth the rite of human sacrifice, upon the following conditions :

1. That they shall be received into the immediate protection of the Government, and shall always obtain justice from it.

2. That if any Khond of Bara Mootah shall infringe the engagement to abstain from the sacrifice, and from the use of human flesh, he shall suffer very severe punishment at the hands of the Government ; as such an infraction, besides being a breach of faith with the Government, and with his own people, may involve the latter in ruin from the wrath of their gods.

3. That the Khonds shall be at liberty to sacrifice buffaloes, monkeys, goats, &c., to their deities, with all the solemnities which are now observed on occasions of human sacrifice.

4. That they shall be at liberty upon all occasions to denounce to their gods the Government, and some of its servants in particular, as the cause of their having at length relinquished the great rite.

5. But they say that if the Khonds of Hodzoghoro shall be allowed to continue the sacrifice, the difficulty of abstinence from it upon their part will be so very greatly increased, that it is a question with them,



whether it will be possible for them to observe absolute abstinence, at least for more than five years.

"I sent the proposers of these terms to their hills, there to re-consider them, and to submit them to councils of the tribes. They were so submitted, and in eight days I was informed that they had been universally agreed to.

"I believe that they were made in sincerity, and that they afford ground upon which to act. But I estimate, at a low rate, the power of barbarous men to emancipate themselves from the bonds of ancient superstition. Permanent abstinence from the vital ordinances of a deity, the faith in whose omnipotence is unshaken, is, I conceive, entirely beyond the strength of men, supported only by the few and imperfectly perceived reasons, and by the comparatively weak and superficial feelings which at present influence these people; the most advanced of whom look tremblingly to the multiplication of their lesser sacrifices, and to the shelter of the plea of virtual constraint by our authority, as a compensation, or an apology for the omission of their chief rite. The punishment of the breach of an obligation so to abstain, is plainly a matter of great difficulty. But when the general state of opinion and feeling shall through the operation of the influences which we can apply, render it advisable and possible anywhere to deter individuals from this worship by punishment, there is fortunately room to hope that it may be done effectually, as the Khonds apprehend from their gods temporal punishments alone, which, or their equivalents, we can employ.

"I next communicated with the tribes of Athara Mootah, 19 out of their 21 patriarchs of branches came, and remained for some time with me.

"The ideas and feelings of these people differed very materially in their details from those of the Khonds of Bara Mootah, to whom they are in every point of view superior. After very long and curious discussions upon almost every subject to which their knowledge or their imaginations reached, these patriarchs, although I was in their case also, very anxious to evade the consideration of distinct arrangements for the future, could not be prevented from offering to relinquish the rite of sacrifice, upon the condition of their receiving protection, and peace, and justice from the Government.

"They returned home to submit the question to the tribes; and they were confident that they should send me in their victims in a few days, in token of the general consent. As I anticipated, however, their people were not to be so easily swayed. There was much opposition. At the end

of seven weeks, however, I received intimation, that all were finally agreed with the exception of the people of Loheringiah, and Gottingiah, whose patriarchs had absented themselves when summoned by me, and who declare that they will not abandon their ancient worship.

"The victims of Athara Mootah were all sent to me, with the exception of 10 or 11, which remain in those tracts.

"Of Chokapand, I saw only a few of the chief patriarchs and the Bissyys. We have lately had little communication with the people of this district. They have, their neighbours say, sacrificed as usual during the period of our connection with them. Their minds were quite unprepared for the discussion of their religion, or of any other subject; and I await a more favorable opportunity to deal with them.

"Finally, I have received distinct information that the number of victims remaining in Hodzoghoro is above 50, and that it has been resolved there to return to the practice of secret offerings. It is intended to sacrifice several victims at Loheringiah and Gottingiah, when the present moon shall be full. And the patriarchs of Athara Mootah send me word that if these sacrifices shall be permitted, all, or nearly all their people will certainly break their weak resolution and share in the flesh. I am anxiously engaged in the adoption of measures to prevent these and other offerings, without alienating the minds of the people of the tracts with which I have not yet communicated.

"I conceive the establishment of distinct relations with these tribes as subjects, to be the necessary basis of the authority by which, combined with influence derived from every source within our power, we may hope to effect the suppression of the rite of sacrifice. The relations which I propose to establish, are, for the nearer tribes, submission to laws directly administered by us; for those more remote, the practical acknowledgment of our supremacy.

"The institutions of the Khonds suffice, generally, to maintain order and security within tribes, but no general authority exists to control these, or their branches, or powerful individuals; to determine questions of civil right between them, and to enforce its decisions; hence, society is every where distracted by contests, animosities, and feuds. The Khonds, from the distinctive circumstances of their social condition, have necessarily felt severely this great want, and have attempted to supply it. And wherever it has been possible from the nature of our intercourse with them, that confidence in the character, and the objects of the Government should have arisen, they have shown a desire to receive a remedy for it at our hands.

“ This great want of a civil jurisdiction capable of determining society to order, I conceive that we can supply to the most accessible of those tribes, in a form, and in a spirit, suitable to their character, and their circumstances. So that our authority shall, in virtue of its beneficial character, and through combination with other influences, become supreme. The remoter tribes, when they shall perceive that our objects are purely benevolent, and practically beneficial, will, I believe, readily receive the idea of its supremacy; and will regard general subordination to it, leading to submission, not as an oppressive, but as an elevating and a desirable connection.

“ What is to be done then, in the first instance is this, to establish our direct authority over the people of Bara Mootah and Athara Mootah as subjects, upon the basis of the administration of justice, and at the same time, to assert our supremacy, and extend our influence by every means that can be devised over the remoter tribes. The suppression of the rite of sacrifice being expected as a gradual result of the direct and indirect pressure of our authority, and of our various and accumulating influence.

“ The views which I have formed as to the law to be administered of these districts, and the powers to be given to the local agency for its administration, are these. We are to attempt chiefly, by engrafting our authority upon the institutions of these tribes, to give them justice, not only as an end, but as a chief means of acquiring the dominion over them which is necessary to effect our objects. Those laws must therefore necessarily be their own usages, with such modifications and additions calculated to advance those objects, as ever changing circumstances shall dictate. Such laws, it seems plain that the local authority must determine, as well as administer; while the Government can but prescribe the principles, the spirit, and the modes in which it shall act.

“ I beg leave therefore to suggest:—

1st. That the Khonds, the Sourahs, and every class of inhabitants of the hill country within the Ganjam agency, shall be excepted from the operation of the instructions by Government for the administration in it of civil and criminal justice; and that all persons residing elsewhere within the agency shall, in respect of the offence of trafficking in human victims, and that of buying or selling children unlawfully, be excepted from the operation of so much of those instructions as relates to criminal justice.

2nd. That the local agency be instructed to administer civil and criminal justice to the population of the hill country, and to the persons residing elsewhere who are above excepted, according to equity, and to

their usages and customs, with a view to the accomplishment of the objects prescribed by the Government. The rules with respect to property held on tenures resembling the feudal to remain unchanged. The local authority to have power to sentence to imprisonment, with or without hard labor, for six years, and to 195 stripes, and to carry into execution, and to remit at any time the whole or any part of such sentence, without reference to superior authority ; but sanction to be required for the execution, or for the remission of any higher punishment. The proceedings of the local authority, to be submitted to the Government, not to the Foujdaree Adawlut, which cannot recognize the principles, or the forms upon which they must be conducted.

“ I propose that energetic measures shall be immediately taken against the procurers of every class ; but such measures will plainly avail nothing, if they shall be limited to the Ganjam district. The zemindaries of Nyaghur, Duspulla, and Boad are far removed from the seat of the magistracy in Cuttack ; and I perceive no means of acting effectually upon the procurers residing in them, but that of making the officers of this district, like the officers employed in suppressing Thuggee, joint magistrates in Cuttack ; and by giving the criminal tribunals of Ganjam and of Cuttack joint jurisdiction over persons accused of the offence of procuring victims, in the three zemindaries which I have named.

“ It is plain that the decisions of authority in these tracts must be carried into effect by instruments, very carefully chosen and instructed. The paiks of the tracts lying under the hills are alone, in any degree, fitted by local knowledge, and by constitution for this work. The elite of these have now fortunately been embodied for several years in the company of Sebundies, and have learnt habits of discipline ; and they are commanded by a son of the late Raja of Souradah, who passed his youth in the Khond country, and who, I believe, may be made, as his brother is already, an instrument of high value in carrying out this design. I propose therefore, that for the present, 50 men, or one-half of this body, carefully selected from the whole, shall, with their officer, be assigned to this service. I do not think that it can be attempted successfully without this aid.

“ With respect to the use of force, it seems to me, that it should be used only as a secondary means ; should be applied only to coerce individuals, when societies have been gained.

“ I would suggest that a party of sappers be employed without delay in making a road from Sohnpore to Sumbhulpore, and the other districts of

the upper valley of the Mahanuddee, through the Khond tracts of Goomsur, and by the Coorminghia Ghaut to the Ganjam Coast. Major Campbell has estimated the cost of such a road at Rupees 5,000."

On the 24th September Lord Elphinstone put on record the following Minute regarding the operations in the Khond Districts.

"On the point of making over to my successor the Government of this Presidency, I can say with truth that few subjects have given me greater anxiety, and in none have I felt greater difficulty, than in the measures to be adopted for the suppression of the horrible custom of human sacrifices, among the wild tribes who inhabit the jungles on the Northern and Western boundary of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam collectorates.

Observations of Lord Elphinstone in a Minute written on the eve of his resigning the Government of Madras. Recommends for adoption the measures suggested by Captain Macpherson with regard to removing the Khond Districts from the cognizance of the Foujdaree Adawlut in all cases connected with the commission of human sacrifices; also that 50 Palks be placed under his orders as requested, and that the Road between Sumbhulpore and Nowgaum be formed without further delay.

"The duty and necessity of our intervention, as the Rulers of this country, to put a stop to this revolting practice, has always been apparent to me. Nothing in fact can exceed the weight of this obligation, except the difficulty of its performance.

"The nature of the country, rugged and inaccessible, and so unhealthy, that it is impossible for Europeans, or even for natives of the plains to live there during nine months in the year; the condition of the rude tribes that inhabit it, at once attached to their ancient superstitions and independence; and our ignorance even of their language, are among the most obvious of the obstacles we have had to contend with. We might at any time have done infinitely more harm by taking a step in the wrong direction, than by waiting to gain information, and then setting to work systematically upon a carefully, and maturely considered plan.

"Having constantly acted upon this conviction, and having always felt that it was rather our province to restrain the misdirected efforts of the local Officers, than to quicken the natural impulse from which they proceeded, it is not surprising that the intentions of Government have been some times misunderstood, and that our conduct has been frequently arraigned.

"The account of Captain Macpherson's first visit to the Maliahs, and the report subsequently drawn up by him, are both highly interesting. They contain much more definite and precise information as to the social condition of the Khonds, and of the limits of the various superstitions which prevail among them, than we were before acquainted with. Nothing

can prove more clearly than these reports, the inutility of partial and desultory efforts, and the absolute necessity of well-digested and systematic ones.

“The great omission in the former intercourse with these tribes, seems to have been the absence of a full acknowledgment on our part, of the duty of affording protection and justice to the Khonds; on their side, of submission and obedience to the Government. In the proposals made to Captain Macpherson by the Khonds of Bara Mootah, which were universally agreed to by them, this omission has been supplied. Whether these conditions will be faithfully observed, it is impossible to say; perhaps it is too much to expect it; but at all events, we have now acquired an acknowledgment of our right to interfere, which the tribes cannot dispute, and to which if prudently and steadily asserted, they will submit without apprehension or distrust. It appears to me that too much stress cannot be laid upon the combination of measures for the general exercise of a controlling influence over the tribes, with our efforts for the suppression of the barbarities which they practice:

“But we cannot afford that protection and justice which the state of society among the Khonds demands; we cannot exercise a salutary control; we cannot even prudently enforce the right of interference which we have acquired, while we continue to act upon the principles, and even to observe the forms of judicial proceedings, made for people in a different stage of civilization.

“The Foujdaree Adawlut have themselves represented the difficulty they experience in dealing with cases connected with the Meriah sacrifices, and the same difficulty, in nearly the same degree, attaches to every question connected with our relations with the Khonds. The coincidence indeed between the recommendations of the highest Court, and those of Mr. Bannerinan, and of Captain Macpherson, are remarkable, and I think their suggestions are deserving of immediate attention and adoption.

“The 50 Paiks under the son of the late Raja of Souradah, may be placed with advantage under the orders of Captain Macpherson; and the Road between Sumbhulpore and Nowgaum, by the Calingiah and Coorningiah Passes, should be formed without further delay. This Road has been recommended by Captain Hill, Mr. Bannerman, Major Campbell, and Captain Macpherson. Inadequate as the measures which I have proposed may appear to some, I am persuaded that they are the best that circumstances will permit us to pursue.

“They form the ground-work of a systematic course of proceeding from which I anticipate ultimate success. The change which has taken place

among a numerous section of the Khond tribes, almost within the memory of man, shews that the prejudices of the race, however uneradicable they may appear to those, who see them only in the heart of their mountains and forests, yield to the silent influence of civilization, and to the contact of milder manners. It may be indeed regretted that they should only exchange one form of superstition for another, but it is something to get rid of the more barbarous one. The promised substitution by the Khonds of Bara Mootah of buffaloes for human victims, is at once evidence of the pliancy of their faith, and a subject of congratulation. It would be unreasonable to doubt the progress of these, and similar changes, as the Khonds come gradually more and more within our influence, and in contact with more civilized races."

On the 22nd April 1843, Captain Macpherson again wrote as follows :

"I have executed in part the measure which I proposed to the Government, should form the first step, and the basis of any general plan of operations for the suppression of the rite of human sacrifice in Southern Orissa.

Extract from a further Report from Captain Macpherson. Details the progress and success of his measures. Mentions the advantages that would attend the employment of a scientific Medical Officer in the Agency. States that every day's experience adds strength to the conviction that summary power vested in a single local authority, is alone applicable to the Khonds.

"When I ascended the ghauts in January last, every unsettled question in the tribe of Bara Mootah, and most of those in Athara Mootah, from the latest village quarrel, to the feuds of forgotten origin, were brought to me by earnest suitors. I placed upon my file the cases which seemed strictly proper to it, and referred all others to the native tribunals, making it plain, that I was there, not to supersede

the existing methods, and instruments of justice; but to strengthen them for good, and to supply their defects. And when it plainly appeared, that the law administered was the existing law, and that my object was only to systematize and extend it with a view to order, while the heads of both tribes were my active assessors, and parties to every decree, all apprehension gradually vanished, and the minds of the people went with me as fully as I could desire, and I felt that I acquired distinct authority resting upon the desired basis.

"To extend the operation of the existing law from a single tribe to two distinct tribes, animated by the spirit of ancient hostility, was a more difficult task. The establishment of our authority, of any general authority, plainly implied the subjection of these tribes in their mutual relations to law; and that law was of necessity, the existing law of

the intercourse of *branches of tribes*, because the principles of no other law are understood, or thought just by the Khonds, or appear to be effectual where society is organized, as it is amongst them. In a word, the law of compensation for wrongs, as it exists between the branches of a tribe, was to be substituted for the usage of retaliation, which was generally the sole remedy for wrongs between distinct tribes.

“ Now some of the strongest and most intractable feelings of these Khonds were necessarily arrayed against their inclusion, upon this principle, within one legal pale, making its accomplishment a work of much *practical* difficulty; although nearly all the heads of society, and men of influence, assented to it, as affording the sole hope of permanent peace. I passed gradually and cautiously from the less to the more difficult questions, and finally dealt with those which seriously engaged the passions of the tribes, carrying out the change every where, and, I believe, to the satisfaction of the people. •

“ I beg leave to submit to the Government, a suggestion as to a means of influence with the Khonds, which seems to be important. They attribute all sickness to the displeasure of the gods, and their remedies are the propitiations indicated by the priests, and they naturally ask how they shall obtain safety, when they have abjured these means. Being informed of the dependence of civilized men upon medical art, the most intelligent and sincerely disposed to relinquish the sacrifice, pray that they may be enabled to substitute it for priestly art; and to show my wish to comply with their desire, I established a Hindu doctor above the ghauts, but he sickened and came away. The very simple cures performed by my dresser have excited much admiration, and it appears to me, that a Surgeon skilled in eye surgery, and who should introduce vaccination, and labor to acquire influence, while he took a part in the general work, would be an invaluable instrument. Doro Bissye urged very strongly the use of this means.

“ Every day's experience adds strength to the conviction that summary power vested in a single local authority, and exerted in the simplest manner, is alone applicable to these Khonds, and those immediately connected with them.”

„In reply the Madras Government desired Captain Macpherson to direct his attention to the establishment of Fairs; and to the encouragement of an intercommunication between the people of the Khond tracts, and the



Captain Macpherson, and recommend the appointment of a Medical Officer to the agency for the sanction of the Government of India.

low country, in the petty traffic which had been established between them; and the appointment of a Medical Officer to afford aid to the establishment, was recommended for the sanction of the Government of India.

On the 8th May 1844, Captain Macpherson reported that the great

Extract from a letter from Captain Macpherson. Reporting the rescue of 142 victims during the year. Draws attention to his former suggestion regarding the road in the Coormingiah ghaut. Advocates the erection of two Cutcherry Bungalows in the Khond country. Considers it absolutely necessary that the Khond agent should have the immediate management of all the hill zemindaries, with which the tribes to which his operations shall be successively directed, are connected. Brings to notice the eminent services of his two chief public servants, and recommends that they receive a small mark of Government approbation.

season of sacrifice was past, and that there had been no apparent tendency to sacrifice in any part of the Khond country of Goomsur. One hundred and forty-two victims had been rescued during the year, and all were Khonds, or Panwas, or of the other castes permanently resident on the Hills, except two Hindu children from the low country bordering on the ghauts. The experience of the two past years proved that the practice of kidnapping children from the low country had nearly ceased in this part of the District.

5. "The Government," he wrote, "has not been pleased to communicate any order in reference to my suggestion, to permit a party of Sappers to afford the aid necessary to the formation of a Road in the Coormingiah ghaut. The importance of opening a communication through the ghauts, and the Khond country beyond in this line, has been fully recognized by the Government. There does not now exist a single tolerable approach to the Khond country. This ghaut, in which alone, so far as is known, a good approach may be easily made, is now impracticable on horseback, and is almost given up by the Brinjarries who have hitherto struggled through it.

6. "The erection of a few substantial Cutcherry Bungalows at different points, in the Khond country will, I conceive, promote in a very important degree the objects of Government. They will conduce greatly to the health of the public servants, and will always afford shelter to the sick. They will certainly produce a very considerable moral effect upon the rude Khonds, as signifying the establishment of the authority of Government, and the intention to maintain it permanently; and they will serve as a place of refuge for victims. These uses and effects have all been experienced in a striking degree from the Bungalow built by Government at Coormingiah. I therefore beg leave to suggest that the

Government may be pleased to sanction the erection of two Cutcherry Bungalows at a cost of Rupees 1,000.

“ The Government having declared its intention to frame a general measure for the accomplishment of its objects, I venture only to observe, that it appears to me to be absolutely necessary, that the Khond agent should have the immediate management of the hill zemindaries, with which the tribes to which his operations shall be successively directed are connected.

“ I cannot conclude this letter without venturing humbly to bring to the notice of Government, the eminent services of my two chief public servants.

“ To my head Moonshee Baba Khan, I owe the acquisition in the years 1837-38-39, of all the information respecting Khond usages which I had the honor to submit to Government in my printed report. The ability and the devoted zeal which he has since displayed in this work, could not be surpassed. He commands in an extraordinary degree the confidence and affections of the Khonds, and of the rude instruments employed amongst them, and his health has suffered much.

“ Soondera Singh, son of the late Raja of Souradah, has afforded assistance which has been equally invaluable. Bred amongst the Khonds connected with his zemindary, but still a well-educated Hindu gentleman, he brings knowledge, and an hereditary influence which no other man can possess. His services in the Khond country during the Goomsur rebellion, were acknowledged by a grant of land; and he has devoted himself with the utmost zeal to the work in which I am engaged.

“ I venture to suggest that the bestowal by the Government of a small mark of approbation upon these two servants may produce important effects. There now exists extreme difficulty in inducing men of character and talent to engage in this work, from ideas connected with caste, from its great danger, its difficulty, and its bringing no desirable influence. The marked appreciation by the Government of devotion to it, even by conferring an honorary medal, might, I conceive, tend in an important degree to remove this difficulty.”

On the 13th June 1844, the Madras Government recorded the following resolution on the above Report :

Resolution of the Madras Government on the above report, expressing its approbation of Captain Macpherson's proceedings and sanctioning his measures.

“ His Lordship in Council has the greatest pleasure in sanctioning Captain Macpherson's measures, and in expressing his approbation of his conduct throughout these proceedings.

“ With respect to the Road in the Coormingiah Ghaut, it is resolved that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief be requested to detach, if practicable, and in the manner appearing to him most advisable, a small body of Sappers and Miners for this work.

“ The erection of two Bungalows in the Khond country at the cost of Rupees 1,000 is sanctioned.

“ The Government of India will be addressed on the proposition, that the jurisdiction of the Khond agent should extend over the several hill zemindaries connected with that tribe. The suggestion of the Agent, on the employment of a sole agency for the entire Khond country, will at the same time be submitted.

“ The Agent to the Governor will report the family names in full of Soonderah Singh and Baba Khan, in order that medals may be constructed with suitable inscriptions for delivery to these persons, as a testimony offered by the Government to their meritorious and important services.”

On the 10th July 1844 Captain Macpherson forwarded the following report relative to the practice of female infanticide amongst the Khonds :

Extract from a further report by Captain Macpherson. Defines the tracts in which female infanticide prevails, its causes, its extent. Arguments employed for its abolition. Bestowal of the female Meriah Wards of Government on the chiefs of the infanticidal tracts, —good results of this measure. Number of children preserved during the past year.

“ The portion of the Khond country in which the practice of female infanticide is known to prevail, is included in the zemindaries of Souradah, Coradah, and Chima Kinedy in the Ganjam district. Its area is roughly estimated at 2,400 square miles, its population at 60,000, and the number of infants destroyed annually at from 1,200 to 1,500. It is divided into five districts, viz., Pandacole, Goldi, Deegee, Boori, and Cundami; and is possessed by a few tribes, which are sub-divided into numerous branches.

“ These tribes belong to the division of the Khond people which does not offer human sacrifices. The usage of infanticide has existed amongst them from time immemorial. It owes its origin and its maintenance partly to religious opinions, partly, to ideas from which certain very important features of Khond manners arise.

“ The Khonds believe that the supreme deity, the sun god, created all things good; that the earth goddess introduced evil into the world; and that these two powers have since conflicted. The non-sacrificing tribes make the supreme deity the great object of their adoration, neglecting the earth goddess. The sacrificing tribes, on the other hand, believe the propitiation of the latter power to be the most necessary worship.

“ Now the tribes which practice female infanticide hold that the sun god, in contemplating the deplorable effects produced by the creation of feminine nature, charged men to bring up only as many females as they could restrain from producing evil to society. This is the first idea upon which the usage is founded.

“ Again, the Khonds believe, that souls almost invariably return to animate human forms in the families in which they have been first born, and received. But the reception of the soul of an infant into a family, is completed only on the performance of the ceremony of naming, upon the seventh day after its birth. The death of a female infant, therefore, before that ceremonial of reception, is believed to exclude its soul from the circle of family spirits, diminishing by one the chance of future female births in the family. And, as the first aspiration of every Khond is to have male children, this belief is a powerful incentive to infanticide.

“ The extent to which the practice is carried, varies materially in the five districts which I have enumerated. In Boori, I have seen many villages of above 100 houses in which there was not a single female child. In Pondacole, in villages of that size, one, or perhaps two, may be found. In Goldi, female infants are very rarely reared. In Deegce, the practice of destroying them is limited to a few tracts on its border, next to Goldi. I have no exact information respecting the usage in Cundami. I proceed to state the measures which have been adopted for its abolition, and their results.

“ Next in importance to the dispensation of justice amongst the means employed in this work, has been the use of arguments opposed to the opinions, and the reasonings, by which the practice of infanticide is supported. With respect to these, I have held, first, that the alleged injunction of the deity, by which the usage is justified, is plainly but a conditional permission, authorizing it, at the utmost, only in so far, and for so long, as the men of any tribe shall find themselves unequal to maintain the peace of society undisturbed through their women; unequal, that is, to the first duties of manhood. The admission of the necessity of the practice by these tribes, necessarily placing them in a position of inferiority to all mankind, who are not compelled, by their incapacity to do justice, in questions of property, arising out of the marriages of their daughters, to destroy them in infancy.

2. “ I have simply asserted that inquiry will prove the second alleged cause of the usage, *viz.*, the opinion that male births are increased by the destruction of female infants, to be unfounded.

3. “ With respect to the justification which is laid on the ground that the destruction of infants is a less evil, than that which must arise from

the contests attendant on the capricious dissolution of their marriages, I have held it to be obvious, that the practice of infanticide, and the cause of those contests, re-act upon each other, alternately, as cause and effect. Infanticide produces a scarcity of women, which raises marriage payments so high, that tribes are easily induced to contest their adjustment when dissolutions of the tie occur; while these dissolutions are plainly promoted by that scarcity, which prevents every man from having a wife. On the cessation of infanticide, women would become abundant, and the marriage payment would become small. Every man would have a wife in these districts, as elsewhere; women would have less power to change, and when they did, there would be no difficulty in making the requisite adjustment of property.

“ But lastly, the Government is now about to remove entirely this ground for the practice, by preventing contests about property involved in marriage contracts, by adjudicating all questions respecting it in these districts, as it does in Goomsur. Thus the evil which infanticide is held to avert will finally cease; and with it, all pretence of justification founded on the permissive sanction of the deity.

“ The measure of which I have next to speak, has produced effects of great importance. I conceived, that between a people organized on the principle of family, and patriarchally governed; amongst whom contracts between individuals are also engagements between tribes; and the important class of marriage contracts gives rise to the strongest feelings, next to those of religion, which connect society; I conceived, that between this people and the Government, a new bond of connection, involving influence of the highest value to this work, might be created through the marriage, to its chiefs, of the female wards of Government saved from sacrifice. I accordingly, about 12 months ago, after careful preparation, bestowed 53 of those wards, Khonds and a few Panwas, in marriage upon chiefs, and men of influence in Pondacole, half of Goldi, and Deegee. In the operation, I subjected both the principals and their followers, for a long period, to the influences of which I have already spoken, settling the disputes of all, and reasoning with all; while I at the same time exhausted every art, by which I could hope to engraft ideas analogous to those of family connection, upon the existing ideas of civil connection with the Government.

“ The degree of influence which has been acquired through the gradual development of this measure has surpassed my expectations. Slight differences in manners and feelings respecting persons devoted as victims, rendered both parties at first averse to marriage; but an entire

change of feeling on this point soon took place. When it was found that the bestowal of a ward of the Government denoted its favor and confidence, and was the beginning of a new and beneficial relationship to it; that the interest of the Government followed its children undiminished into their new families and tribes, giving to these special claims to consideration, there arose the strongest desire to obtain the wards in marriage. I have since labored to strengthen, and to multiply the ties between them, and all connected with them, and the Government, through the maintenance of regular intercourse with them; and the careful observance, as far as possible, of the forms and the duties, and the use of the language of the paternal relation. Thus ideas of connection, and of authority, analogous to those which arise from natural affinity, have become blended in the minds of these people, to a certain extent, with their existing ideas of civil connection with the Government. Even in Goldi, where our direct authority is not yet established, the influence arising from this quasi family connection has produced very important results. The example of 53 heads of families who have relinquished the usage, forming a close and distinctive connection with the Government, has necessarily produced a strong impression upon all; and more authority has been practically derived from this measure, directly and indirectly, than I could have hoped to acquire through the use of all the other means which are available, in a very long period.

“ I have been at much pains to obtain a correct nominal return of the female children born and preserved during the two last years; and I have the high satisfaction to state that above 170\* female infants have certainly been saved in those tracts, in that period; two-thirds of the number within the last 15 months, through our direct influence.”

In a Report, dated 28th August, 1844, Captain Macpherson attracted the attention of Government to the necessity that existed of determining without delay, the manner in which the support necessary for maintaining the work, which had been accomplished in the Khond tribes of Goomsur, should be afforded. That work, he said, “ could not be maintained, unless prompt and effectual measures were adopted for the abolition of the rite of sacrifice in the tribes of Boal in Cuttack, adjacent to the gained tribes.

Extract from a report from Capt. Macpherson. Stating the necessity that existed for taking immediate steps for the abolition of the rite of sacrifice among the tribes of Boal in Cuttack. Describes the measures, and the agency which he deems to be requisite for that purpose.

“ And it is to be remembered that the great difficulty connected with this work is the formation of instructed and experienced instruments.

\* 172.—70 in Pondacole.  
45 in Deegee.  
55 in Goldi.  
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170

The very few of these which exist, have been formed, in acting upon the gained tribes of the Madras Presidency; and the formation of more, save through them, and through familiar intercourse with these, and the adjoining tribes, must be a work of very great difficulty, and of much time.

“ The amount of European Agency which it is expedient to assign to this work, is for the consideration of the Government. It appears to me, that the agency of Medical Officers should be preferred for it, with reference to the direct influence which they may exert, by the exercise of medical skill, on all classes of the population which is to be swayed, and to the high value of their professional aid to the other servants of Government.

“ To enable the Government to command the services of natives possessing the qualities which are necessary to this work, experience has, I conceive, established, that provision must be made, not only for their adequate remuneration for a most difficult and dangerous service, requiring a species of knowledge which is applicable to it alone, but also for their compensation for loss of health, with reference to that loss, considered apart from, as well as in connection with time, and amount of service.

1. “ I conceive it to be plain, that under any plan of procedure, the Agent for the Hill Tribes should assume the exclusive management of the zemindaries, which include the tribes on which he shall act. That unless the Agent for the tribes shall also be the sole Agent under the Government for their including zemindaries, the ascendancy over the Rajas, and the Hindu population, which is necessary to our objects, cannot be attained. The authority to be held in those zemindaries, by the Agent for the tribes, should, plainly, be that of the present Agents of Government in each district.

2. “ The Agent for the tribes, should, I conceive, take under his management the zemindaries which include tribes, by successive groups, as circumstances, and chiefly as the number of instructed instruments at his disposal for the work shall determine, restoring those zemindaries, with or without their tribes, to their old local jurisdictions when our special objects in them are accomplished.

“ If the tribes of Bengal and of Madras shall be placed under one Agent, that Agent should, in the first instance, assume the management, in the Cuttack District, of the zemindaries of Boal and Duspulla, and in the Ganjam District, of the late zemindary of Souradah, and the small zemindary of Coradah. I confidently expect that if this plan of

Agency shall be adopted, the gained tribes of Goomsur will be found to be so confirmed in the change effected in them, as to make unnecessary the longer retention of that zemindary, in the charge of the Agent for the tribes. But the two-half Khond Mootahs of Berecote, and Punchgodah in Goomsur must still remain in his management, and the services of its village Paiks must continue to be at his disposal. An Agent for the Bengal and Madras tribes must, I conceive, necessarily have the powers of Joint Magistrate in the Districts of Ganjam, Cuttack, and Vizagapatam, and probably in Sumbulpore."

In consequence of the above representation of Capt. Macpherson, the Madras Government recommended the Government of India to vest the Principal Assistant in Ganjam with Magisterial powers, in districts immediately adjacent to Ganjam, to be exercised only in such matters as pertained to the duties in which he was specially employed, *viz.*, the suppression of human sacrifice and infanticide among the Khonds.

On the 17th March 1845 Assistant Surgeon Cadenhead, who had been appointed Principal Assistant Agent, during the temporary absence of Captain Macpherson, reported that the forbearance of the Khonds of all the Goomsur tracts, with respect to sacrifice, had been greatly tried by the state of affairs in Boad, where they had seen sacrifice celebrated, the orders of Government with regard to the delivery of victims set at nought, and the authority of the Raja openly resisted.

"I conceive," he wrote, "that our measures in Goomsur are not in immediate danger, while it is generally believed that the Boad, and all other tracts where the rite is still celebrated, will soon be subjected to the same system which has proved successful in Goomsur; and while no event occurs violently to disturb men's minds. If, however, immediate steps shall not be taken to bring all under one uniform system; if, in spite of the efforts at present directed towards Boad, the rite shall still continue to be there celebrated; if month after month, the very shouts of the sacrificers shall be heard by the people who have only relinquished the rite conditionally; or if while our efforts are still distracted, any great calamity, such as famine or desolating sickness, shall overtake the Goomsur tracts, their fall would seem to be inevitable. In the one case they would conceive themselves no longer bound to adhere to their share of the contract, since we had apparently failed to perform ours; and in the other, the general overwhelming dread of the wrath of their gods would soon overpower the individual fear of the anger of Government."



## PART II.

### OPERATIONS IN THE PRESIDENCY OF BENGAL.

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**DURING** the time that all these operations had been pending in the Madras Territory, the authorities on the Bengal frontier had not been idle. As early as the 23rd February 1837, Mr. Ricketts, the Commissioner and Superintendent of the Tributary Mehals in Cuttack, reported having met Mr. Russell, and having heard from him that an extensive system of human sacrifice had been discovered among the Khonds of Goomsur, and several intended victims rescued. On his return to the district of Duspullah he ascertained that the system was not confined to Goomsur, and succeeded in discovering and rescuing several victims. Upon which the Chiefs of the Khonds promised that if Mr. Ricketts would abstain from the use of force, all the rest should be at once given up.

Extract from a report from the Commissioner and Superintendent of the Tributary Mehals in Cuttack. Discovery of the existence of the rite. Rescue of 24 victims. Causes of the custom. Price of victims. Their treatment. Description of the ceremony. Suggests measures for its abolition.

“Being close to the Territory held by the Khond Chiefs of Boad,” Mr. Ricketts wrote, “I thought the cause sufficient to justify my going out of my jurisdiction, and I went into the country of Mahadeb Khonro and Noboghon Khonro, who hold all the Boad Kund and forests and hills. The victims as in Duspulla, were given up, and I brought away altogether 24, eight girls and 16 boys.”

“I made many inquiries from the Khond Chiefs and others, respecting the custom. They sacrifice to the earth, to the “nuttee.” They suppose good crops and safety from all diseases and accidents to be procured by this slaughter. It is considered peculiarly necessary where huldee is the crop which engages their care. They coolly reasoned with me as to the impossibility of the huldee being of a fine deep color without this shedding of blood. They will not knowingly sacrifice a Khond or a Brahmin; with these two exceptions, victims of all ages and colors, of every religion, and both sexes, are equally acceptable; but fat are more efficacious than thin, and those in their prime, than the aged and the young.

“The victims are purchased at from rupees 60 to 130 each of persons of the Paun and Harree classes, who sell them as being their own children,

but as there are all classes among those rescued, it is evident that these miscreants steal them, and then sell them for slaughter to the Khonds.

"The children after being purchased are often kept for many years. When of age to understand for what purpose they are intended, they are chained; two had been years in chains, one so long he could not recollect ever having been at liberty. With the exception of being thus confined, they are well treated, having as good and as much food as the Khonds themselves.

"When intended victims have been kept till they attained maturity, they are sometimes allowed to cohabit, their children also being victims, and the father and mother slaughtered when required.

"I was not successful in acquiring any good information as to the frequency of these sacrifices. One Khond of about 46 years of age told me he had witnessed full fifty. Others equally old would acknowledge to having been present at two or three only. Victims are found in the houses of the village sirdars only, and mere ryots are not permitted to slay victims; indeed they have not the means, for a considerable expense falls on the master of the horrid feast.

"Very contradictory stories were told of the manner in which the ceremony itself is conducted, the most common appears to be to bind the victim between two strong planks or bamboos, one being placed across the chest, the other across the shoulders. These are first of all strongly fastened at one end, the victim is then placed between them, a rope is passed round the other ends, which are long enough to give a good purchase, they are brought together, and the unfortunate sufferer squeezed to death. Life still ebbing, the body is thrown on the ground and chopped in two pieces below the bamboos with hatchets. Some accounts say that after the performance of several savage ceremonies and feastings the divided corpse is buried unmutilated. Others say that as soon as divided, those in attendance fall on, and cut each a piece which is carried away to be buried in his own land.

"Several admitted that in Goomsur they were cut up alive, and though no one would allow that to be the practice on this side, I believe it at least occasionally is, for they acknowledge their belief that if the body was buried whole, the benefit of the sacrifice would not extend farther than the lands of the person who found the victim. Whereas, if distributed, the benefit was commensurate with the width of the distribution; it is not to be credited therefore that the Goomsur custom prevails only on the other side the Ghâts.

"The Raja of Duspalla has but little, the Raja of Boad no power over his Khond subjects.

"With such a state of things it is not easy to devise a plan for controlling the Khonds and preventing these sacrifices for the future. The legitimate plan would be to insist on the Rajas controlling their subjects and abolishing the horrid rites; but if they were told the continuance of these practices would lead to their dispossession, we should never hear of them; the country is such an immense distance from any authority that there is not the remotest chance of our hearing anything the Rajas may desire to conceal; that course therefore would not ensure discontinuance of the slaughter. By sending a strong party once a year from Cuttack to march through the country, from end to end, with an Officer authorized to punish immediately by death, if he thought fit, any person proved guilty of the crime, it might be effectually put down, and I think such a system would have a beneficial effect in many ways; not only human sacrifices would be abolished, but the constant feuds between these Rajas and Chiefs, which are always attended with more or less loss of life, would be prevented. The tour would occupy about six weeks, and cost, supposing the party consisted of four Companies, about rupees 2,000.

"It must not be forgotten that Boad is in the jurisdiction of the Governor General's Agent on the South-West Frontier, and the Officer employed in the duty must be specially vested with authority in Boad and Duspalla, and perhaps it might be advisable, over some of the Goomsur Khonds also.

"There is another method by which the Khonds might be kept in order. The establishment permanently of a strong post near them or amongst them."

The Government of Bengal forwarded the following reply to Mr. Ricketts on the 14th March 1837:—

"His Lordship has perused the detail given by you of the system of human sacrifice prevalent among the Khonds, with feelings no less of horror than surprise. He is well aware of the difficulty of dealing with a description of crime which, however unnatural and revolting, has been sanctioned by long usage as a national rite, and confirmed by the gross delusions of the darkest ignorance and superstition. The working of a moral change among the people by the progress of general instruction, and consequent civilization, can alone eradicate from among them

Reply of the Bengal Government. Request that immediate injunctions may be issued to all the Tributary Rajas having nominal authority over a Khond population, expressive of the determination of Government to suppress the rite. Should these measures fail, the expediency of a Military occupation of the country may become a question for consideration.

the inclination to indulge in rites so horrible. But though the entire suppression of the practice of human sacrifice among this wild and barbarous race must be the work of time, yet much may be done even now, and no proper exertion should be omitted towards checking the frequency of the crime by the terror of just punishment. His Lordship is fully prepared to sanction the use of judicious measures in aid of the power of the Raja of Duspulla, whenever that Chieftain shall have discovered the commission of this crime in any of his villages. Immediate injunction should be issued, not to him only, but to all other tributary Rajas having nominal authority over a Khond population, expressive of the views of the British Government, and of its determination to do all in its power for the effectual repression of this atrocious practice. You will be pleased to report upon every instance in which, in your opinion, the British power, in support of that of the Rajas themselves, may be exerted without the hazard of serious embarrassment and disturbance.

"The Right Honorable the Governor is not disposed to accord his sanction at once to your proposal for the annual progress of a military force under an Officer vested with power of summary punishment for the purpose of suppressing human sacrifices. This point may be considered and decided on before the commencement of the ensuing cold season.

"Should it appear by the failure of the contemplated measures of interference that the Chiefs of the Khonds are either unable or unwilling to exert themselves effectively for the maintenance of order and repression of crime, the expediency of the occupation of the country, or of some part of it, by British troops may become a question for consideration. The time is however not yet come for the adoption of such a measure, and in the event of its imperative necessity, endeavours must of course be made to defray the expenses of occupation out of the resources of the country."

The following is a Report from Mr. Mills, the then Superintendent of Tributary Mehals, Cuttack, bearing date the 2nd June 1843 :—

"Having heard that Captain Macpherson, Assistant to the Governor

Extract from a letter from the Superintendent of Tributary Mehals in Cuttack. Reports having deputed a Native Officer to the Khonds of Duspulla and Boad, who returned with eight victims. Is of opinion that conciliatory measures will not alone avail, and states the conditions which would be necessary to

General's Agent, had recovered a large number of victim children in Goomsur, and having been told that that Officer had stated that the Khonds of Duspulla and Boad had many Meriahs in their keeping, I deputed a trustworthy Native Officer with two Chuprassees into the Khond Mootahs for the purpose of effecting their liberation. I enjoined him to impress upon the Khond Chiefs, the abhorrence

render even force effectual. Requests permission to reward the Rajas of Duspulla and Boad. Reports his intention to continue sending Officers occasionally into the country. Recommends that a duly qualified Officer be appointed to the command of the Khoordah Paik Company, and ex-Officio Assistant to the Superintendent of Tributary Mehals to make an annual tour through the Khond districts.

with which Government viewed the rite, to remind them that it had directed its abolition, and that a recurrence of the practice would bring down on its perpetrators the serious displeasure of Government. I especially interdicted the use of force, and desired the Rajas of the territories abovementioned, to co-operate with the Tehseeldar in the accomplishment of the above objects.

“ I am happy to have it in my power to state that the mission has been attended with some success.

The Khond Chiefs gave up eight children and have promised to restore 17 others ; sickness having compelled the Tehseeldar to quit the country, he left a Chuprassee to receive the latter when surrendered.

“ There can, I fear, be little doubt that the practice of sacrificing children is still prevalent in the Khond Mootahs of Boad and Duspulla ; the Khonds are afraid to speak openly about it, but the Sirdars of Boad tacitly admitted the fact.

“ Conciliatory measures alone will not effect the suppression of the rite ; force must precede conciliation, and it is hopeless to expect to put it down even with the application of force, unless a special agent is appointed to use force when necessary, and systematic measures are adopted for carrying out simultaneously the orders of Government, both in the Madras and Bengal territories.

“ The Raja of Duspulla's meritorious conduct is deeming, I think, of some special marks of approbation by Government, he rescued and sent in, in March last, two children, one of whom made its escape, and I would suggest that I be permitted to bestow on him, as well as on the Raja of Boad who rescued two children, and who cordially co-operated with the Tehseeldar on this occasion, a present of a pair of shawls and a piece of kinkob each.

“ I shall continue to send occasionally Officers into the country on similar errands, in order to show the Khonds how unceasing is the desire and determination of Government to put a stop to the practice. But the presence of a European Officer would be attended with far more good, and if it be determined to adhere to the present system of inducing the Khonds to give up the rite, I would suggest that an Officer of experience, and qualified by disposition and character for the duty, be appointed to the command of the Khoordah Paik Company, and be made ex-Officio

Assistant to the Superintendent of Tributary Mehals, on a suitably increased salary. I would require him to make a tour through the Khond Mehals every year, to act in union with Captain Macpherson and under identical instructions in bringing over the Khonds to our views."

On the 9th January 1844, Lieut.-Col. Ouseley, Agent to the Governor

Extract from a letter from Colonel Ouseley, Agent to the Governor General on the S. W. Frontier, reporting having issued a warning notice to the Khonds to abstain from sacrifice, and recommending that if attention were not paid to his orders, he should be empowered to proceed into the country and make a suitable example of the offenders.

General on the South-West Frontier, reported that in consequence of information he had received, he issued a notice to the Rajas of Soumpore, Patna, Khurriar, Bendra, Nowagurh and Bomra, desiring them to send a list of the Sirdar Khonds of their estates, and to make every inquiry, whether any Meriahs were in their country, and wherever they existed to forward them to him; also intimating that if they remained and were not reported, or were in any way secreted, the persons implicated would

be liable to have their zemindaries confiscated. The notice further directed that each Khond zemindar should be warned to abstain from human sacrifices, and to send in the kidnapped "Meriahs" now in his possession, on pain of having his zemindary resumed and the person sacrificing, subjected to capital punishment. The Colonel suggested that if attention should not be paid to the above orders by the cold season of the ensuing year, that he should be empowered to proceed with all the Ramgur Light Infantry and Irregular Horse available, with the guns, and make such an example of those who persisted in thus treacherously kidnapping and destroying their neighbours, as would compel them, ever after, to become obedient subjects under their respective Rajas.

On the 23rd February Captain Hicks, who, in conformity with the

Deputation of Captain Hicks into the countries of Boad and Duspullah; the instructions delivered to him by Mr. Mills.

suggestion of Mr. Mills, had been appointed his Assistant for the purpose of suppressing human sacrifices, was deputed by that Officer into the countries of Duspullah and Boad, with the follow-

ing written observations and instructions:—

"The distance of the Khond tracts from any authority, has, I fear, rendered all the endeavours which we have adopted in the hope of bringing about the gradual abolition of this barbarous practice, futile and of no avail. I believe the sacrifices are still most numerous, that the few children sent in by the Rajas are intended as a mere blind, and that if they are able, they are most unwilling to attempt the rescue of the victims annually sacrificed in their territories.

"The lateness of the season will, I fear, be an insuperable bar to your spending any time above the Ghâts, and making the progress which you would otherwise be enabled to make in bringing over the Khonds to our views, but much can be done towards effecting the liberation of victims; and it is principally with this object, that I am desirous you should now visit the Boad and Duspullah Territories.

"My own impression is, that gentle means will not alone effect the discontinuance of the practice, and it is my opinion that we should publish general prohibitory notices, and be prepared to enforce their provisions, by rewarding those who observe their pledges, and punishing those concerned in every case of delinquency, at first slightly, and, when the law has been some time observed, with severity.

"It will be for you to offer your opinion on this point, after mature consideration of the case in all its bearings; for the present all coercive measures are to be carefully eschewed. You should invite the principal Sirdars to come to your Camp, talk and reason with them on the barbarity of the rite, and the abhorrence with which Government regard it, and endeavour to win them over to our views. ●

"It will of course be matter for careful inquiry, how far the Rajas do really exert themselves to repress the rite, and whether they do not (as there is reason to believe is the case) secretly encourage it, and derive much pecuniary advantage from doing so. You will be particular to explain to the Rajas the inevitable consequences which must follow the want of effective co-operation on their part in carrying out the orders of Government, *viz.*, that they will be dispossessed of the Khond country.

"With reference to the manner in which the victims are procured, and the best means for putting down the practice of kidnapping, you are authorized to inquire into any charges of this nature, and to forward both purchasers and kidnappers for trial to this Court; recording your own opinion as to the sufficiency of proof, or otherwise against them. The Rajas have been strictly enjoined to prevent kidnapping, and instead of punishing such criminals themselves, to send them for trial to this Court."

Mr. Mills, on the 1st June 1844, submitted for the information of Government the following detail of Captain Hicks' proceedings with his own suggestions thereon:— „

Extract from a letter from Mr. Mills—Narrates the progress of Lieut. Hicks; rescue of 23 victims; active co-operation of the Raja of Boad; pledge of the Khond

"Unavoidable circumstances prevented Lieut. Hicks from setting out on this expedition at the favorable season of the year. The great drought

Sirdars of Boad to refrain from the rite; manner in which the victims are immolated. Mr. Mills in opposition to the opinion of Colonel Onseley would not at once support conciliatory measures by the application of force, he would not have recourse to force until slow and gradual means shall have failed; quotes the remarks of Lieutenant Hicks on this point, which he considers apposite; advises the greatest possible co-operation among the several agents employed; suggests that Colonel Onseley depute one of his Assistants to make an annual tour through the Khond Mootahs and act in concert with Lieut. Hicks. Recommends for adoption the following suggestions of Lieutenant Hicks:—1st. To keep a native agent at Boad. 2nd. That he should be allowed on his next visit a guard under a European Officer. 3rd. That a European Sergeant be placed at his disposal to superintend the cutting of a passable road through the Burmool defile. 4th. That a person versed in survey be deputed to assist Lieut. Hicks in making a topographical survey of Duspullah and Boad.

and intense heat of the weather at the time he reached the Boad country, compelled him to cling to the banks of the Mahanuddee River, and rendered it impracticable for him to visit the Khond fastnesses without prejudice to the health of the whole of his party. This was anticipated; I expected him only to pave the way for more extended operations and inquiries in the coming season, but the results, considering the shortness of the visit, have more than realized my fondest expectations, and are, I trust, such as to merit the approbation of His Honor the Deputy Governor of Bengal. In spite of the many serious obstacles that presented themselves, in the alienation between the Raja of Boad and his Khond subjects, in the unprincipled conduct of the Raja's confidential servants, and the jealousies, suspicion and distrust of the Khonds, he succeeded in rescuing 23 victims, viz., 11 boys and 12 girls, of ages varying from 3 to 19, and inducing 26 Khond Sirdars to subscribe to an unconditional agreement, pledging themselves to refrain from the horrid practice.

“Lieutenant Hicks succeeded in gaining the co-operation of the Raja and Nuboghun Khonro, the head of the Khond Chiefs, and effecting, through their instrumentality, the release of the above victims. The last mission I sent into the Khond

Mootahs signally failed; the Sirdars doubting or pretending to doubt the true character of the delegation, doggedly refused to deliver up the Meriah children to any one but myself, and showed a disposition to oppose force by force, by fortifying the passes leading into their country, and on this occasion, the Bulscoopa Sirdars evinced a like determination: twice were they invited to come in; four of the Sirdars once approached within eight miles of Lieutenant Hicks' encampment, but fled in the night time, and the second deputation found them in a state of ‘beastly drunkenness and wild excitement, having also blocked up the passes.’ Their attendance was at last secured by the Raja's personal exertion, who at Lieutenant Hicks' desire, proceeded himself to Bulscoopa, and brought in the refractory Sirdars with four Meriahs:



These facts, while they show how revered is the rite and how deeply rooted are the bigotry and superstition of the Khonds, afford incontrovertible proof of the difficulty and magnitude of the work, which we have taken on hand.

“ Lieutenant Hicks states that the Raja rode a distance of nearly forty miles into the Khond fastnesses, to bring on the Bulscoopa people, and this he did in spite of the remonstrances of his dependants, and Lieutenant Hicks, to mark his sense of his good conduct, judiciously invested him with ~~a~~ khillat ‘ publicly and in the presence of the assembled Khonds ;’ he also gave some of the principal Khond Chiefs silver bangles, and to all two pieces of cloth, which, he adds, they prized exceedingly.

“ The long existing feuds between the Raja of Boad and the Khonds still unfortunately prevail ; the latter pay no Revenue, are under no kind of control, and are in the habit of making encroachments on the lands of the Raja and helping themselves to his cattle and crops, with impunity. I entertain a confident hope that Lieutenant Hicks will after a more extended intercourse with the Khonds, be enabled to settle their feuds, and restore peace and harmony amongst them, and to the attainment of this important object his best attention will be directed.

“ Previous to dismissing the Khond Sirdars, Lieutenant Hicks required them to give him some pledge to the effect that they would for the future refrain from human sacrifices. This they did, by signing an unconditional agreement in his tent and in presence of the Raja of Boad and his principal officers.

“ It is not of course to be understood that *all* the Meriahs in the Boad District have been given up, or that all the Khond Sirdars have entered into a written agreement to forego the practice ; the area of the Boad Khond Mehal is set down at 1,400 square miles, and the advanced state of the season precluded communication with the distant Mootahs, which are much scattered and at great distances ; a good commencement has been made of a good work, and though the number of released victims may appear small, yet I can afford the satisfactory assurance, that they are all veritable Meriahs. Lieutenant Hicks has given the names, ages, caste and country, where ascertainable, of the victims, as well as the names of the Khonds from whom they were recovered, and has had the heartfelt gratification of restoring five lost children to their relations. A rumour has gained ground that imposition has been practised in the Madras Territories in some cases, and Lieutenant Hicks, hearing of the report, has been particularly cautious to guard against any such tricks being played off on him.

"Lieutenant Hicks passed through Duspullah on his return from Boad ; he saw all the Khond Sirdars, who he says, came immediately at the bidding of the Raja, by whom they are controlled and kept in proper subjection, but he could find no trace of Meriahs. It is satisfactory to find, that our interference in suppressing the rite in this zemindary is likely to be crowned with success.

"I proceed to explain the manner in which victims are immolated ; although the subject is but a matter of curiosity, yet I think a description of it comes within the scope of this report.

"The sacrificial rite is supposed to prevent contagion and failure in their Turmeric crops, the staple article of the Khond country. To the latter they say that the blood of victims imparts a high colour which raises its value, depth of colour being the test of its superior quality. The butchery of a Meriah, as related by those who have practised it and believed in its efficacy in averting impending evil in the wrath of the deity, is held to be, by the awful tenets of their religion, imperative on the head of every Khond family, periodically, or when occasions seem to demand its performance.

"The modes of sacrificing are various, being sometimes performed by a single person in a sequestered part of the jungle, but more generally by a public display near their villages, when crowds of people of both sexes assemble and take part in the ceremony which is always at the expense of one individual, who is urged to its performance either by the desire of successfully resenting some wrong inflicted on him by another party, of celebrating some important achievement, or, as I have said before, of propitiating the deity.

"The victims are purchased when children, being then of course unconscious of their situation and eventual fate. They are kept well fed, kindly treated, and allowed to eat and drink what they like ; they are maintained in this manner until they have arrived at the age of puberty ; they are then, if circumstances require it, sacrificed. Three days previous to the immolation, there is great feasting, rioting and dancing, the conduct of the people being characterized by the most gross and brutal licentiousness ; on the fourth day the Meriah is taken round the village in procession to each door, where some pluck hair from his head, others solicit a drop of spittle, which the applicants anoint their head with, any relic being deemed sacred. After having gone the usual round, he is drugged into a state of stupefaction, which renders the poor wretch defenceless ; he is then taken to the place of sacrifice, his head and neck

introduced between the rest of a strong bamboo split into two parts, the ends of which are secured together and held by the sacrificers. As soon as he is firmly fixed, the presiding priest advances, and with a sharp and curiously curved axe breaks the joints of the legs and arms, at the ankle, knee, elbow and wrist; the surrounding mob then fall to and strip the flesh off the bones with knives; in contending for the flesh it not unfrequently happens that a serious affray is the consequence. Each man having secured a piece carries the quivering and bloody morsel to his fields and there buries it. The bones of the deceased are buried where the sacrifice has been performed, and their situation is generally marked by a long pole stuck into the earth just above them.

“ I shall now proceed to notice the measures proposed by Lieutenant Colonel Ouseley and by Lieutenant Hicks respectively, for the suppression of human sacrifices amongst the Khonds.

“ First as regards Lieutenant Colonel Ouseley's plans. The Lieutenant Colonel would at once support conciliatory measures by the application of force, and bring to condign punishment those who, in violation of engagements or the prohibitory order of Government, which are to be explained to all the Khond Sirdars, should sacrifice children. It is my opinion, that conciliation will not alone accomplish the effectual repression of the rite, and that in all probability force must eventually be used; but, I strongly object to have recourse to this severe measure, until slow and gradual means shall have failed, and Lieutenant Hicks' opinion is entirely in coincidence with mine. He has the following very apposite remarks on the subject: ‘ The exercise of this revolting rite, which Government is so desirous of repressing, owes its existence to the superstition of ages; this cannot be wiped from the ideas of the people in the space of a month, or a year, even at the point of the bayonet; it is so intimately blended with their religion, and unhappily so deeply rooted an evil in their form of belief, as to require the application of a proportionately strong remedy to eradicate and crush its existence. I am firmly convinced, in my own mind that, sooner or later, force must be resorted to, as no other measures, excepting those of a very coercive nature, will effectually check its continuance. But if the adoption of a persuasive and conciliatory system be permitted for some time longer, and officers employed in various parts of the country to gain information, and report on its resources, it would allow the Khonds a sort of intercourse with us, and would go far to civilize and exalt their minds above their present low level, and would certainly be the means of lessening the frequency of the Meriah rite.’

“ Lieutenant Hicks observes, that it is difficult to conceive that the mere act of marching a Regiment into the country, and then marching it out again, will have the desired effect—it would not—a line of posts must be established, and troops detained in the country for a length of time, or at all events until objects aimed at have been effectually gained : and should a collision once take place, a general rise would most likely happen, and no human calculation can define the limits and expenses of a desultory warfare, as it inevitably must be, in a country abounding in natural and almost insurmountable difficulties.

“ The destitution and poverty of the Khonds is very great ; they are possessed of little or no property, and would, on the approach of our troops, fly to their fastnesses, where it would be useless, and indeed impracticable, to pursue them, and Lieutenant Hicks is perfectly assured that from sheer ignorance of our motives, three-fourths of the inhabitants of Khondistan would offer a mad and blind resistance to our demands, under the idea, that they were merely fighting in defence of their country, independence and tribe.

“ It therefore seems probable, that a coercive undertaking to be effective, must be a protracted one ; and this is the strong objection to the application of force, until all other measures have failed, for troops would be required to be detained in the country, so as to worry and harass the people into submission, by not permitting them to cultivate their lands, and by keeping them confined to the fastnesses, where they may take refuge. The climate of Khondistan is so notorious for its insalubrity, and the baneful effects it has on the health and constitution of strangers, that little else may be said of it, except that it will prove more destructive than either the fire or sword of the enemy.

“ There is, from the rocky and sterile nature of the country, a great drought of about four months’ duration, which would oblige troops to seek the banks of the Mahanuddee River, in the months of March, April, May and June ; they would be dependent on Sumbulpore, Nagpore and Cuttack for supplies, the country being too poor to maintain even a very small number of troops.

“ In the event of the imperative necessity for such a measure, I agree with Lieutenant Hicks in the policy of pouring an overwhelming force into the country from all sides simultaneously, and enforcing instant submission ; but I submit the time is not yet come for using force. I would earnestly recommend that we follow the course of proceeding we are now pursuing, viz., that we depute annually, active and intelligent

Officers into Khondistan, under instructions to improve our intercourse with, and extend our influence over the Khonds, to express the views of the British Government and its determination to put down the system of human sacrifices, to induce them to substitute animals instead of human beings for sacrifice, and to sign agreements declaring the sacrifice a punishable crime. In this manner two or more seasons may be passed, when, as circumstances justified, I would publicly proclaim the repression of the revolting practice, and vest the Officers with the power of punishing summarily the aggressors of the law.

“ While I deprecate force at present, I beg not to be understood as advocating a mere argumentary interference which would permit the agent to become a passive spectator of sacrifices committed all round him. He must on some occasions act with firmness, though with prudence, and omit no proper exertion to enforce compliance with his requisitions, and to establish his authority over the Khonds.

“ I would also advise the greatest possible co-operation and pre-concerting of measures as to time and place by the different agents employed on this duty; each agent might so time his campaign as to meet the other; not only would they profit from the valuable information which one might give to the other; but the moral effects of such meetings would be productive of the best results, as it would impart to the Khonds the liveliest impressions of the interest which the Governments of Madras and Bengal take in the matter, and present to them the spectacle of mutual co-operation on the part of their agents.

“ I would also suggest that Lieutenant-Colonel Ouseley be instructed to depute one of his Assistants to make an annual tour through the Khond Mootahs within his jurisdiction, with orders to act in harmony with Lieutenant Hicks, and to meet that Officer at Boad in the approaching season.

“ Lieutenant Hicks has suggested the following measures, as calculated to aid the successful accomplishment of the undertaking:

“ *Firstly.*—He would keep a native agent at Boad to collect and report information and act as a check on the Raja's proceedings: he might, Lieutenant Hicks justly remarks, be of use to the Raja ‘ in tutoring him into some knowledge of his real situation, for he is at present a mere puppet, and though possessing an enterprising and adventurous spirit which with a little good counsel might be brought to some advantage, is likely to remain a tool in the hands of those about him, and of eventually becoming perhaps troublesome.’ I consider this kind of agency an indis-

pensable adjunct to the attainment of the object in view, and recommend that Lieutenant Hicks be empowered to appoint a qualified Officer on a salary not exceeding rupees 50 per mensem.

“ *Secondly.*—He begs to be allowed on his next visit a guard under an European Officer. Captain Macpherson is, I am informed, allowed one; and to this proposition I see no objection.

“ *Thirdly.*—Lieutenant Hicks suggests that the Burmool defile be opened by cutting a passable road through it. This proposition is recommended on the following strong grounds: It will facilitate the transit of the troops marching from the Northern Division of the Madras Presidency to Nagpore, and they always follow this route; it would lead to commercial intercourse between the Khonds and the people of Contilo, Banki, and other places; it might be the means of establishing periodical fairs; and lastly, which is not the least important object in view, it would afford protection to travellers. Lieutenant Hicks states that the pass is infested with marauders, who plunder and sometimes murder travellers. I am assured that this is the case, and that the Pans and Khundarahs of the neighbouring tributaries are the individuals who perpetrate these atrocities. It is my intention to concert measures with Lieutenant Hicks for their apprehension and punishment.

“ I would recommend that a European Sergeant be placed at the disposal of Lieutenant Hicks for superintending the work of cutting a road through the pass. The Rajas of Duspullah and the contiguous territories will be required to furnish labourers, and as labour is very cheap in these parts, the cost will be trifling.

“ *Lastly.*—Lieutenant Hicks proposes that a person versed in survey be deputed from the Surveyor General's Department to assist him in making a topographical survey of Duspullah and Boad. This is a judicious suggestion, which should be at once adopted, and the information thus gained will, I hope, enable us eventually to open roads throughout the Khond country. I look on roads not only as the surest and most efficacious means of introducing civilisation amongst barbarous races, but as the very death-blow to rebellion. Would it have taken, I may ask, three years to put down the Khoordah insurrection in 1818, had the fine road which now passes through Khoordah, connecting it with Madras on the one side, and Cuttack on the other, been then in existence? I should say, it would not have occupied so many months.”

On the 16th June 1845 Mr. Mills submitted the following detailed account of his Assistant, Lieutenant Hicks', second mission into the Khond

country of Duspullah and Boad for the purpose of endeavouring to suppress the practice of human sacrifice:—

“ Lieutenant Hicks took this season the Nyaghur route, entering the territory of Runpore, where it abuts on the Chilka, passing through Nyaghur, and crossing the Doorgapershad Pass (the barrier between the Khond ‘Maliahs,’ and the ‘Khalisa of Duspullah’) entered the Khond mehal of the latter country. He summoned, through the Raja, all the Khond Sirdars, to meet him at the village of Bolscoopa. They obeyed the call, and the Raja himself attended, and Lieutenant Hicks states, that he took the opportunity of doing every thing in his power to strengthen the Raja’s authority, by making him the medium of communication between the Sirdars and himself, and explained to them the abhorrence with which the practice of human sacrifice was viewed by Government and its determination to put it down. No means were left untried to find and rescue victims or to elicit information as to whether any had been privately immolated, but all failed. Lieutenant Hicks remarks ‘no traces could be found of any occurrence, which tended in the remotest degree to defeat the contradiction which the charge against the Khonds invariably met with.’ They do not profess to have abolished sacrifices, but they affirm that, in obedience to the orders of Government, they have substituted animals for human beings: and seeing that the Khonds themselves are under subjection to the Raja, and the Raja himself has lent his cordial co-operation to suppress the killing of human beings, there are, I think with Lieutenant Hicks, very strong grounds for believing that the ‘rite, if practised at all, has certainly lost its publicity, and, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, I may venture to say,’ says Lieutenant Hicks, ‘that its frequency is perceptibly on the decrease, for where formerly more than a hundred victims annually suffered, now but a few are killed, and those few are made away with no doubt in secret, and without the customary parade or display, which until our interference always attended the ceremony.’ It is very gratifying to find that our interference has been so far successful; conciliatory measures can go no further, and the time has now come when *in this killah* we may with safety proclaim the abolition of the horrid rite, and the determination of Government to inflict a just punishment on the transgressors.

Extract from a further letter from Mr. Mills—Submitting a detailed account of Lieut. Hicks’ second mission into the Khond country of Duspullah. Rescue of twelve victims. Again recommends that Lieut. Hicks be attended by an escort of sepoy on his next expedition. Details the native establishment with which he deems it absolutely necessary that Lieut. Hicks should be provided in order to enable him to do justice to his appointment.

“Lieutenant Hicks proceeded from Duspullah to Raneegunge, in Boad, the residence of the very influential Khond Chieftain, Madhub Khonro. He had free intercourse with the people, and states that Madhub Khonro has been frightened into propriety, and has, *he believes*, exerted himself to abolish the Meriah rite; he is a very wily person; and having possessions in the plains, cannot altogether throw off his allegiance to the Raja. He and Nubhogan Khonro will not recognize the Raja's authority beyond what is called the Khalisa, or the low land on the River side of the Ghâts; the Raja strives, but in vain, to establish it; and it is the existence of this feeling between the chiefs which renders the task we have taken in hand, so difficult of achievement in this country. Lieutenant Hicks has tried his utmost to reconcile them, but the one is as unwilling to offer terms as the other is of accepting or submitting to them; and I fear all hope of suppressing the rite, through the agency of the Raja, must be abandoned. I shall however desire Lieutenant Hicks to ascertain and report every circumstance connected with these disputes, in order that, if justified in interfering, we may do so fully and effectually.

“From Ruttungunge Lieutenant Hicks went to Burgatcha. Ascending some stupendous passes, over a most difficult and intricate road, he came to the plateau of Burgatcha, which he describes as 1,200 feet above the level of the sea, surrounded by hills, forming a sort of amphitheatre and containing 22 villages, all within sight of each other. He found every village deserted; the Khonds, hearing of his advent, had fled into the hills, and were said to be bent on hostile purposes. They returned to the villages at night, yelling and shouting, and unprotected as Lieutenant Hicks was, it must be admitted that he was placed in a very serious and dangerous predicament; he met it however with that calm determination and fortitude which so strongly mark his character, encamped on the plain, and patiently awaited their coming. After several days some of the chiefs came in an intoxicated state, and no sooner, says Lieutenant Hicks, ‘were these men in my encampment, than the deluded inhabitants were to be seen emerging from the jungles which covered the base of the hills adjoining their villages, and were soon engaged in their usual domestic affairs.’ They ascribed their flight to the fear of Lieutenant Hicks coming to exact tribute for the Raja.

- “Lieutenant Hicks reports, that there had, as far as he could ascertain, been no sacrifices at Burgatcha during the past year, but preparations were, he says, going on for sacrifices. He persuaded all the influential men to pledge themselves to abstain from these inhuman practices in future.



“From Burgatcha Lieutenant Hicks retraced his steps towards the Khalisa and encamped at Bolscoopa, where he received information that the Khonds of Surmoondah were preparing to sacrifice a victim; he himself heard the noise of the music: he first sent some Khonds to stop the sacrifice, and bring in the victim, but to no purpose; he then deputed the Raja's Putnaik, who frightened the Khonds, by telling them troops were at hand, and this induced them to disperse; but they would not give up to him the Meriah, and it was not till after ‘repeated threats’ that the boy was recovered eight days afterwards. This incident shows the impression the mission would create if accompanied by a small number of troops: the troops in question were a Company of Madras Sappers and Miners marching to Berhampore Ganjam.

“The Khond Sirdar of Ruttai Baria refused to give up several Meriahs, which he possessed, or to attend on Lieutenant Hicks, and that officer recommends that he be apprehended and punished, for his contumacy, and for the encouragement he has given to sacrifices, three victims having suffered in Ruttai Baria since Lieutenant Hicks' last visit; but as this Chieftain has never given a pledge to abandon the rite, I cannot recommend that he be visited with punishment; it will be sufficient to instruct Lieutenant Hicks to secure his attendance, using such measures in doing so as the circumstances of the case may call for: a reprimand, with some days' detention as a prisoner, and, if found necessary, a transportation to Cuttack, will probably be a suitable punishment for his refractory conduct.

“At Ruttai Barai Lieutenant Hicks states, dysentery attacked his camp followers, and caused him to descend the Ghât; he then visited the Khond tracts between Khimabeer Mallia and Burramulla, and rescued eight victims, who were recovered through the agency of a kidnapper: this man was seized and sent to me by the Boad Raja, and acquitted for want of proof of the specific charge of kidnapping.

“Twelve victims were in all rescued. Lieutenant Hicks has ascertained that 13 victims have been slaughtered since his last visit; hundreds were formerly killed, and it is something gained to have checked in so great a degree the frequency of the horrid practice, while it holds out the strongest encouragement to persevere in the undertaking, and to adopt a more systematic and vigorous course of proceeding; and this will, I hope, stand as my excuse for respectfully, but earnestly, again recommending that Lieutenant Hicks be attended in his next mission with an escort of sepoy: an escort is not only necessary for the personal protec-

tion of the Officer, but is, I consider, an indispensable adjunct to the successful attainment of the object in view. There are times and opportunities, as fully exemplified in Lieutenant Hicks' proceedings above detailed, where the display, not the exercise of force, would have had the happiest effect. Conciliation is of course to be preferred to force, but it is at the same time provident and desirable to have the means at hand to put down any unlooked-for resistance. I am satisfied it will never be abused in Lieutenant Hicks' keeping; it will add importance to the mission, and as it will be the most efficacious means of bringing the refractory Khonds into order, so will it, in the same degree, ensure the prosperity of the work.

"I may add, that Captain Macpherson, who is the strenuous advocate for conciliatory measures, never entered the Khond fastnesses without an escort; and that both Messrs. Russell and Ricketts (the former also a supporter of the conciliatory mode of proceedings) never contemplated that the practice could be put down without the presence, though not the use, of force.

"Lieutenant Hicks considers the entertainment of a native establishment as essentially necessary to enable him to do justice to his appointment; an occasional visit to the Khonds will avail nothing unless it is supported by an agency on the spot, ever on the alert to keep alive the impression made, and to give information of whatever is going on in the country. Entertaining this view, I would recommend that a native agent on a salary of rupees 30 per mensem, with an establishment of Police, say one jemadar and 20 burkundauzes, the former at 10 and the latter at rupees 6 each, be stationed at the village of Ramghur, on the Mahanuddee, distant about nine miles from Killah Boad. At this village there is, I am informed by Lieutenant Hicks, a fair attended by the Khonds; it is a healthy spot, and possesses the advantage of being nearer the Khond Maliahs than any other spot on the river side. I am of opinion that if such assistance be not afforded, we cannot hope to suppress sacrifices. It is to be remembered that Boad is not, like Goomsur, under the direct management of Government; in the latter place Government have an agent in the Khond Country, appointed by themselves, whose duty it is to look after the Khonds; in Boad, the Khonds are virtually independent, and it is therefore the more necessary to have an agent to report upon every occurrence of a sacrifice: nothing should be too trifling for his notice, which may bear on the point; he should collect even the rumours of the country upon the subject."

## PART III.

### OPERATIONS UNDER THE IMMEDIATE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

*Proceedings of the Government of India, with the view to the suppression of human sacrifices and female infanticide in the Hill Tracts of Orissa.*

ON the 19th July, 1845, the whole subject was reviewed and taken into consideration by the Governor General in Council, in consequence of which the following resolutions were passed, which formed the basis of Act XXI. of 1845.

“The practical measures to be pursued to repress the crimes of this superstition, are questions of the deepest interest to humanity, in which the character of the Indian Government is concerned: and its efforts ought never to cease until it has succeeded in extirpating such abominable customs.

“Considering the nature and the extent of the country in which they prevail, the condition of the wild tribes who inhabit the unhealthy fastnesses of Orissa, and the small number of individuals employed in the suppression of these sacrifices, there is reason to be gratified, that so much has already been accomplished with such very slender means.

Resolution of the Supreme Government.—Decides on the formation of an agency extending over the whole tract of country where human sacrifices prevail, under the general guidance of the Government of India. Indicates the tracts of country to be removed from the superintendence of the Commissioner of the Tributary Mehals in Cuttack, and the Collector of Ganjam, respectively, and placed under the jurisdiction of Captain Macpherson as Agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices in the Hill Tracts of Orissa. Declares the rules by which that Officer and his subordinates are to be guided. The agency to consist of at least five or six well qualified Europeans, each having under him two or three intelligent natives. Gives instructions under which as soon as a Zemindarry shall no longer require to be under the Khond agent, it is to be restored to the ordinary collector. Regular sepoy not to be employed except in the smallest numbers required for an escort. The Coorninghia Ghât to be repaired.

“Almost all the Officers of experience who have written on this subject, are unanimous, that the extinction of the Meriah sacrifice must be obtained by gradual and voluntary operations: that force and intimidation ought not to be resorted to, as in all probability the attempt would be attended with much loss of life, and little chance of ultimate success. The risk would be incurred that the Khond tribes would take opportunities of sacrificing their victims in secret, and if force were employed there would be the same unsatisfactory results as those which attended the Madras Army in the Goomsur Campaign, when the losses and sufferings of the Troops were great in consequence of the insalubrity of the climate.

“There is also a general concurrence of opinion that the efforts of the Government ought to be made under one system and one influential agent; that his coadjutors should conduct their proceedings simultaneously with him, and in subordination to him: that by thus entrusting to one controlling authority, the management of this difficult undertaking, there will be a better chance of success, than if the authority continue divided, as it has hitherto been, between Bengal and Madras Officers.

“The Governor General in Council is satisfied that this object will be best attained by the formation of an agency extending over the whole tract of country where human sacrifices prevail, which agency shall be under the general guidance of the Government of India.

“The Governor General in Council would propose in the first instance to remove from the jurisdiction and superintendence of the Commissioner and Superintendent of Tributary Mehals in Cuttack, the estates of Duspuhlah and Boad, and place them under the jurisdiction and superintendence of Captain Macpherson, as agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices, in the Hill Tracts of Orissa: that Officer and his subordinates to be guided by the same rules in all departments of the administration as the Commissioner and Superintendent of Tributary Mehals in Cuttack, and his subordinates would be required respectively to observe in the same limits if they were the local functionaries, except that where persons of the Hill races, or persons identified with the Hill races by residence and customs, are concerned; special rules will be provided by the Governor General in Council for the guidance of the public Officers,

“In like manner the Governor General in Council would remove in the first instance, from the jurisdiction and superintendence of the Collector of Ganjam, exercised by him as Agent to the Governor of Fort St. George, under Act XXIV. of 1839, the undermentioned tracts of country, *viz.* :

- 1st.—“The Khond tracts included in the assumed zemindarry of Goomsur;
- 2nd.—“The two Jungle Mootahs of Berecote and Punchgoda in Goomsur;
- 3rd.—“The whole or so much of the Mootahs of Binjighere and Pareya in Goomsur, as shall conveniently include the chief marts for the Khond produce:

4th.—“The assumed zemindarry of Souradah:

5th.—“The zemindarry of Coradah; and place them under the jurisdiction and superintendence of Captain Macpherson, as Agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices, in the Hill tracts of Orissa: that Officer and his subordinates to be guided by the same rules in all departments of the administration as the Collector and his subordinates would be

required to observe if they were the local functionaries ; except that where persons of the Hill races, and persons identified with the Hill races by residence and customs, are concerned ; special rules will be provided by the Governor General in Council for the guidance of the public Officers. The difference only in other respects being, that the Khond Agent and his subordinates shall receive their instructions from the Government of India, through the Government of Bengal, in matters in which the present functionaries would be guided by the directions and decisions of the latter authority, and by the Government of Fort St. George respectively. It will be convenient that the Agent address to the Bengal Government, all letters on matters connected either with the Madras or the Bengal Territories, of which the Supreme Government will take cognizance, and that he receive all orders of the Supreme Government through the Bengal Government. Copies of all the correspondence will be transmitted to the Madras Government. The Governor General in Council would not propose immediately to place under Captain Macpherson any portion of the Rajamundry district.

“The number of persons assisting the Chief Agent, appears to the Governor General in Council to be too small. Captain Macpherson’s health has on more than one occasion failed ; and the establishment should be so organized, that an accident occurring to an individual should not arrest the progress of the experiment.

“In addition to the services of Assistant Surgeon Cadenhead, whom the Governor General in Council would continue in the Agency as first Assistant, the Governor General in Council will be prepared to sanction the employment of any other qualified Officer available in the Madras establishment. Medical skill is a great desideratum. The Khonds are stated to suffer greatly from the ravages of the small-pox and from blindness ; the introduction of vaccination might be extended by native doctors, and as there are only three months out of the twelve, during which their personal services would be required, the Officers might be spared from their ordinary duties during the cool season, being liberally renumerated for the short period they would be employed in the Khond country.

“To limit year after year the operations of two or three Officers to the district which each could superintend for three months, would be most detrimental to the success of the plan, where the extent to be operated upon consists of a wild tract of country, of 300 miles in length by 100 miles in breadth.

“The Governor General in Council is of opinion that the European Agents to be placed in charge of districts, should at least consist of five or six well qualified Assistants, each having under him, two or three natives of intelligence and integrity, the whole acting strictly on one plan, laid down in the instructions which will be prepared for their guidance.

“As soon as a zemindarry shall no longer require to be under the Khond Agent, it should be restored to the ordinary Collector, with precise instructions from the Government that the system which has been found efficacious in reclaiming the Khonds from their sanguinary superstition, and the practice of female infanticide (the extension of which is to go hand in hand with the extinction of human sacrifices), shall continue to be acted upon. Our intercourse with the Khonds would thus be perpetuated, and the risk of a relapse obviated.

“The Governor General in Council would not recommend the employment of regular sepoy, except in the smallest numbers required for an escort, in attending upon the Officers when they visit their districts.

“As regards the effects to be produced by opening out roads of communication through the country for purposes of traffic, there are not sufficient grounds for expecting any good result by incurring that expense. But it may be advisable to repair the Coorminghia Glât, the road thence to Solunpore having been much frequented while it continued open.”

In continuation of this subject, the following letter was forwarded to the Madras Government on the 10th September 1845 by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, Mr. Bushby :—“ I am directed to request that the services of the following Officers of the Madras Establishment, may be made available for the duties to be performed under Act No. XXI. of 1845. Captain S. C. Macpherson, 8th Regiment N. I., to be appointed by the Government of Fort St. George, Agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, to be placed by the Governor General in Council under his jurisdiction and superintendence, within the limits of the Presidency of Fort St. George. Mr. Assistant Surgeon John Cadenhead, to be appointed by the Government of Fort St. George, Principal Assistant, and Lieutenant J. MacVicar, 41st Regiment N. I., an Assistant to the Agent. It is intended that the proceedings under Act XXI. of 1845, against the practice of the Meriah sacrifice

Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, to the Madras Government—Names the Officers to be appointed to carry out the proceedings under Act XXI. of 1845, with the duties and salaries to be assigned to each.

and female infanticide in the Hill Tracts of Orissa shall commence with the Establishment of an Agent and three Assistants, *viz.*, Captain Macpherson, Agent; Mr. Assistant Surgeon J. Cadenhead, Principal Assistant; Lieutenant G. W. S. Hicks, 8th Regiment Bengal N. I., Assistant; and Lieutenant J. MacVicar, Assistant.

"The appointments made by the Most Noble the Governor in Council for the limits of the Madras Presidency, should include that of Lieutenant Hicks. These Officers will receive allowances on the following scale:—

"The Agent, Rupees 1,600 a month, and a travelling allowance of Rupees 500 a month.

"The Principal Assistant, Rupees 900 a month. The other Assistants, Rupees 600 a month each. The Principal and other Assistants will receive Rupees 250 a month for travelling allowance; and the travelling allowances of this agency will be drawn only when the Officer or Officers are absent on the duties of their offices from their Head Quarters."

On the 6th December the President in Council recorded the following further Resolution, defining the powers to be exercised under Act XXI. of 1845:—

"The Governor General in Council having determined, that the mea-

Further Resolution of the Supreme Government. Sanctions a native establishment at a total cost of Rupees 1,069-4. Suggests an arrangement regarding the disposal of the Sebundy Corps for the consideration of the Madras Government. Sanctions the construction of a Cutcherry in Souradah at a cost of Rupees 1,000. Defines the powers to be exercised by the Agent in the several districts of the Agency.

sures to be adopted with the Khonds, in order to influence them in regard to the abandonment of their practices of human sacrifice and female infanticide, shall be prosecuted without violence, and that their alienation from these savage rites shall be effected by gradual and voluntary operations, (in which it is obvious that there must be with the Khonds a sense of benefits obtained through the improvement of their relations to the Government,) it is deemed necessary to vest the Agent and his Assistants, with a jurisdiction adequate to the protection of the Khonds in their intercourse out of

their own immediate races and residence.

"It is the intention of the Supreme Government in establishing a special Agency to confide to it a more comprehensive plan of operations, than has heretofore been pursued in respect to the Meriah sacrifice and female infanticide, and to constitute the Agency, so that it shall be capable of extending itself over the whole tract of the Orissa country, where these practices prevail.

"Ordinarily the Officers for the suppression of the Meriah sacrifice will succeed to such duties as have been performed by, and will have like

powers with, those Officers from whose jurisdictions the portions of country in which they are employed have been removed.

“ Where Khonds are concerned, or persons identified with them in customs and domicile, respect must be had to the state of these people and the patriarchal institutions by which they are governed.

“ It will be the duty of the Agent to establish his influence and the authority of the British Government with the zemindars and the Khond tribes, without making force or intimidation the instruments of his mission.

“ In regard to establishment, a native Agency must be organized and instructed ; and when that has been effected, separate offices will be required for the different Assistants, to whom special powers may be entrusted. The President in Council authorizes the Agent to entertain, gradually and experimentally, an establishment for Khond operations at a total cost of Rupees 1,069-4 per mensem ; a reduction of expense being effected, if practicable, in the Sebundy Company attached to the Ganjam Agency. His Honor in Council understands that the Paiks raised for the Sebundy Company, are the only people capable of the Police service necessary for the objects of the Khond Agency in the Hills, and that fifty, or half of the Company, with its Sirdar, were placed at the disposal of the Principal Assistant Agent in Ganjam for Khond proceedings. The Sebundies are for the most part stationed in the tracts which the Hill Agency will now include. It seems therefore desirable that as many of the men as possible should be left with the new Agent ; and if indispensable, that their places be supplied by new levies, where experience in Khond operations is not so primary a consideration. His Honor in Council suggests this arrangement for the determination of the Governor in Council at Fort St. George ; and also, with a view to as much economy as can be effected, would request the Madras Government to order the Collector of Ganjam to make over all the ordinary local establishments to the Agent's authority ; and in every other way, consistently with the principles of procedure prescribed, to aid in the objects of the Khond Agency.

“ The President in Council sanctions the construction of a Cutcherry bungalow in the quarter of Souradah, at a cost not exceeding Rupees 1,000.

“ In respect to the estates separated from the authority of the Commissioner and Superintendent of Tributary Mehals in Cuttack, the Agent will exercise the powers hitherto vested in the former functionary, and shall be competent to delegate to his subordinates his civil powers, except in respect to claims of right to inheritance or succession in estates under Regulation XI. of 1816 ; and in like manner his criminal powers, provided



that his subordinates to whom such powers have been delegated, shall not award for any offence a punishment exceeding three years' imprisonment; provided also that in any case tried by a subordinate, if the latter shall be of opinion that the punishment of imprisonment for three years, would not be adequate to the offence of which the prisoner has been convicted, he shall refer the proceedings to the Agent, with his opinion to that effect and a statement of the grounds thereof; and the Agent on a review of the proceedings shall be at liberty to award punishment on such conviction not exceeding seven years' imprisonment; or if of opinion that an award of imprisonment for seven years would be an insufficient sentence of punishment for the offence, the Agent may refer the case for orders in the same form to the Governor General in Council. The Agent may call up a case at any time from the Courts of his subordinates, and investigate it himself, or he may modify or annul their decisions.

"In respect to the tracts of country separated from the authority of the Collector of Ganjam, the Agent will exercise the powers hitherto vested in the former functionary as Agent to the Governor of Fort St. George: administering to Hindus and Mahomedans by birth and customs, the civil, criminal and revenue laws of the Presidency of Fort St. George, as they are at present administered by the Agent to the Governor of Fort St. George, under the supervision of the Madras authorities, except in civil suits in which the interests of persons of Hill race, or of persons who have adopted their customs, or become domiciled with them, are concerned; in such cases, he will administer law according to equity and usage, under the supervision of the Governor General in Council: and except in criminal business affecting persons of Hill race, or persons who have adopted their customs, or become domiciled with them, to all of whom criminal justice shall be administered in accordance with the spirit and principles of the general regulations of the Government, and with a due consideration for the condition and usages of the Hill races.

"The Agent, in respect to offences of the last mentioned classes, shall exercise his powers under the supervision of the Governor General in Council, and shall have the same power of punishment as in the estates separated from Cuttack. He shall also be competent to delegate his powers, civil and criminal, to his subordinates as in those estates.

"The President in Council is pleased to resolve that in the tracts of country included in the Agency for the suppression of the Meriah sacrifice and female infanticide, the awards of the Agent and of his subordinates in the exercise of the authority committed to them by this Resolution, or

in conformity to this Resolution, shall not be voidable by reason of any defect of form or deviation from the course of proceedings established for the civil and criminal courts in the Regulation Provinces, so that substantial justice be done in these tracts by the Officers employed. The usual forms being nevertheless to be adhered to, so far as they are compatible with the circumstances and condition of the country. This rule will apply equally to matters of revenue and to the correspondence of the Agent with the Board of Revenue at Madras."

The above measures having been submitted for the approval of the Honorable Court of Directors, the Court replied as follows, on the 8th April 1846.

"We entirely approve of the enactment of Act XXI. of 1845, the main

Extract from a Despatch from the Hon'ble Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated 8th April 1846, approving of the above measures of the Supreme Government.

object of which is to enable the Governor General of India in Council to place in the hands of one Officer (to be called 'the Agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices,') aided by a sufficient number of competent Assistants, the entire control of the tracts inhabited by the Khond tribes, whether situated within the Bengal or Madras Presidencies. Thus the serious difficulties which had previously occurred in consequence of the power of the Officers employed in the promotion of this important work being restricted to the local limits of their respective Presidencies, will, for the future, be obviated, and that unity of action secured, which is essential to the successful issue of measures directed to the same object."

Captain Macpherson entered upon the duties of his new office in

Acts of Captain Macpherson in Duspullah and Boad. Delivery to him of 170 victims. Their subsequent restoration to the Khonds. Orders of the Supreme Government. Continuance of the disturbances. Measures suggested to the Supreme Government by Captain Macpherson. Proclamation of the Supreme Government to the Khonds. Disturbances headed by Chokro Bissye in Goomsur. Despatch of General Dyce to the scene of rebellion. His report on the conduct of Captain Macpherson and his assistants. Appointment of Lieut.-Colonel Campbell

December 1845, and on the 20th of the following February, he reported that he confidently expected the early accomplishment of the objects of Government in the zemindarry of Duspullah. He stated that he had only just been enabled to meet the Raja of Boad, and that he deemed it necessary to remain in the Hill country until his authority was fully established, as about one hundred victims had been immolated in the tracts of Boad bordering upon Goomsur, in anticipation of the usual season for sacrifice.

On the 17th May 1846, Captain Macpherson reported that on the Boad Raja joining him, he explained to him the views of the Government

of the Madras Army to be Agent. Deputation of Mr. J. P. Grant to inquire into the line of policy pursued by the late agency. Results of that investigation. Acquittal of Captain Macpherson, Dr. Cadenhead and Lieutenant Pinkney, of the charges brought against them by General Dyce.

respecting the Hill population of his zemindarry, and required him to exert his utmost influence to induce its Chiefs to conform to them, inviting him at the same time to become the chief instrument of the work to the advancement of most of his own interests. He followed the Raja into Boad, met all its Khond and Hill Chiefs, and stated fully to them the general intentions of the Government.

It then appeared distinctly, that the Raja entertained the conviction that the Government intended to carry out its measures only if unopposed, and that he, instead of acting as the Agent had required, had simply concerted with the Chiefs to repeat, as an experimental measure, the course formerly adopted with the Bengal Agent, *viz.*, to give up to the Government about 25 victims. Captain Macpherson, perceiving that he could not rely upon the co-operation of the Raja, addressed himself directly to the Khonds, and then the holders of victims brought them in with emulous haste, so that in seven days above 170 were made over to him. He then began to prepare to leave the country, confident of the easy completion of his work during the next season. But the Khond tribes suddenly broke off all communication with him, and held secret councils in every tribe, at which, the Agent said, the opponents of his measures succeeded in convincing the Khonds that the Government had resolved to measure and assess all their lands, to subject the people to forced labour, and to punish the leading men for past sacrifices. A large armed mob consequently assembled before his Camp on the 14th March, the third day from that on which estrangement was first distinctly manifested, and demanded the restoration of the victims, protesting that they had no thought of reverting to the sacrifice, but that their delivery to the Government implied their unconditional submission to its threatened oppression, and to the loss of all their rights.

On Captain Macpherson informing the Raja, that he considered him privy to this movement, and would hold him responsible for the consequences, he became deeply alarmed, and prayed earnestly that the Agent would afford him a chance of saving himself by giving him an opportunity of bringing the Khonds back to a right frame of mind; and this he undertook to effect, if the Agent would make over the victims to him, upon his solemn guarantee of their safety and their re-delivery to the Government. After mature deliberation, Captain Macpherson entrusted the victims to the Raja, and retired across the Goomsur frontier. The

Boad Khonds subsequently attacked his Camp on two occasions, and did their best to incite the Goomsur tribes to revolt, but he left the latter in perfect tranquillity on the 25th April.

On receiving this report, the Government desired Captain Macpherson to communicate to the Raja its sincere regret, that so much improper opposition should have been offered to the Agent's measures, its expectation that the victims would be restored, and that the Raja and all loyal subjects in his territory would for the future exert themselves to enforce the wishes of Government.

In the meanwhile the Raja had been vacillating in his exertions for the restoration of the victims. At times he adopted measures for their restitution, which he would abandon at the solicitations of the party hostile to the Agent, who assured him that the representations they were making at Cuttack, would have the effect of re-transferring the zemindarry to that district, whose authorities did not require the absolute relinquishment of the sacrifice, but only the annual delivery of a certain number of victims. He eventually came in to Captain Macpherson, and was furnished at his own request with a written statement of the object of Government, with which he returned among the Khonds. The disturbances, however, continued, and on the 15th October, Captain Macpherson, believing that his authority combined with that of the Raja would not avail for their suppression, suggested the following measures for the consideration of Government :—

1. That the Government should cause a distinct declaration of its intentions towards the Hill tribes to be communicated, through the agency, and the agencies of Cuttack, the South-West Frontier and Ganjam, to all the zemindars and Hill Chiefs who were or might hereafter be concerned or interested in these operations.

2. That an Officer from each of the agencies of the Tributary Mehals and the South-West Frontier, should meet him, with a view to afford to the tribes unequivocal proof of their co-operation in the Khond country of Boad.

In conformity with Captain Macpherson's suggestions, Captain Dunlop, Commanding the Paik Companies of Cuttack, and Lieutenant Haughton, Assistant to the Governor General's Agent, South-West Frontier, were deputed to co-operate with Captain Macpherson ; and the following declaration of the intentions of the Supreme Government with respect to the Hill Tracts of Orissa, which had been drawn up by the Agent and submitted to the Government for approval, was addressed to the Chiefs and people in those tracts :—

" It being ascertained, that uninformed persons entertain serious misconceptions with respect to the views of the Supreme Government in investing Captain Macpherson with authority as its Agent for the suppression of the Meriah sacrifice and female infanticide in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, and obstructions to his measures having thence arisen, the Supreme Government resolves to declare, for the removal of such misconceptions, and for general information, its exact intentions in appointing such an Agent.

" The Supreme Government having become aware, that the most criminal and inhuman practices of Meriah sacrifice and female infanticide prevailed in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, within its territories, considered it an imperative duty towards God and mankind to exert its utmost influence to suppress them.

" The measures adopted by the Government towards the tribes of Goomsur, having put an end to the practice of Meriah amongst them; and the experience of those tribes during four years having demonstrated to the most ignorant that no injury could possibly arise from its omission, so that every pretence for its continuance was thereby removed, the Supreme Government invested Captain Macpherson with authority as its Agent for the object of effectually suppressing the Meriah rite and the practice of infanticide throughout all the Hill Tracts of Orissa.

" Persons ignorant of the true motives of the Government in adopting laborious and expensive means for the suppression of those inhuman practices have, however, falsely imagined, that the Government, under the pretence of suppressing them, has in view—

1st.—" To impose taxes and servile labour on the Hill races.

2nd.—" To increase the tribute paid by the Rajas in whose zemindarries those races are included.

3rd.—" To abrogate or injuriously change the hereditary authority and privileges of the Rajas, the Bissyes, the Mullickoos, the Khonds, the Podies and other Hill Chiefs, and to change the ancient usages of the Orissan Hill country; and such ignorant persons have been led by those misconceptions to oppose the measures of the Agent of Government intended solely for the suppression of the Meriah and infanticide.

" The Supreme Government hereby declares, that these impressions are entirely without foundation, that the Government does not intend, either now or hereafter, to impose taxes or servile labour on the Hill races of the tracts in question, or to increase the tribute at present paid by the Rajas in them, or to abrogate or injuriously change the here-

ditary authority and privileges of those Rajas, or of the Bissyes, Mullickoos, Khonds, Podies or any other Hill Chiefs ; but that it intends to rule those Hill Tracts solely with a view to the benefit of the people, and in conformity with their established usages and the principles of justice, and with the advice and aid of their Chiefs.

“ The Supreme Government is not disposed to visit with severity the offences of those who have hitherto, from ignorance of its real intentions, opposed the measures of its Agent.

“ But all doubt as to those intentions being now removed, the Government expects that the Rajas, the Bissyes, the Mullickoos, the Khonds, the Podies and all other persons in the tracts in which Meriah or infanticide prevail, will henceforth, with a view to the interests of all, aid the Agent of the Government in his measures for the suppression of those practices, and for the maintenance of general tranquillity.

“ All who shall so aid the measures of the Government, shall be held deserving of its favor ; and all who shall hereafter obstruct them, shall suffer such punishment as the Supreme Government shall think fit to inflict.

“ The Supreme Government resolves to communicate copies of this declaration to the Agent for the Hill Tracts of Orissa, to the Superintendent of the Cuttack Tributary Mehals, to the Governor General's Agent for the South-West Frontier, and to the Agent to the Governor of Fort St. George in Ganjam ; and to direct those Officers to send translations of it in the language of their respective districts to all the Rajas and Hill Chiefs interested in its contents ; and moreover to give copies of such translation under their respective seals to all who shall apply for them.”

On the 15th December, Captain Macpherson reported that disturbances had broken out in the low country of Goomsur, headed by Chokro Bissye, nephew and representative of Dora Bissye, the Khond leader in the Goomsur rebellion, who had since then been residing in the Ungool zemindarry at Cuttack. The Chokro had with him a supposititious child of the late Raja, whose heir was a State prisoner, and called upon the people of Goomsur to aid in the restoration of the Bunje family, a Raj of seventy-five generations, which was dispossessed of the zemindarry in 1836.

Captain Macpherson immediately despatched Captain Dunlop and his two Assistants, Dr. Cadenhead and Lieutenant Pinkney, to the scene of the disturbances, while he himself remained above the Ghâts to

watch the movements of the rebel tribes of Boad. Owing to the understanding that existed among the malcontents, they were enabled to maintain a protracted resistance; but Captain Macpherson's Assistants obtained every where decisive advantages over Chokro Bissye's adherents, whenever they could get at them, and Captain Macpherson was successful in preventing the insurrection spreading above the Ghâts. Matters remained in this state until the 20th January 1847, when the Supreme Government, considering that there was a prospect of a further continuance of disturbances, which might require the interposition of a strong force to put them down, requested the Madras Government to depute a Military Officer of standing and experience to the scene of operations, with instructions to assume charge of the agency and take command of the troops, if in his opinion, the insurrection could not be quelled without extended Military operations. If, however, he considered that matters could be brought to a satisfactory conclusion without his intervention, he was to leave the management of affairs in the hands of Captain Macpherson, the Agent.

Brigadier General Dyce, who was selected by the Madras Government for this duty, arrived at Russellcondah on the 7th March, and proceeded on the 14th, accompanied by Captain Macpherson, to Gullery, from which place he addressed a letter to the Adjutant General of the Madras Army, containing such serious charges against Captain Macpherson and his Assistants, that the Government of India informed General Dyce, that it was no longer in contemplation to employ Captain Macpherson in his Office, and directed him to administer the duties of it until other arrangements could be made.

On the 21st April Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of the Madras Army, was appointed Agent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa.

Captain Macpherson having applied for an early opportunity of vindicating the character of his administration from the charges advanced against it by Brigadier General Dyce, Mr. J. P. Grant of the Bengal Civil Service was appointed Commissioner for instituting the necessary inquiries into the line of policy, acts and proceedings of the late Agent and his Assistants, with a view to a full report from him on all those matters. The results of Mr. Grant's laborious investigation, which extended over many months, may best be summed up in the following extract from a Despatch from the Hon'ble Court, No. 10, dated 28th September 1850.

"Having now concluded our review of the special reports submitted by Mr. Grant, and carefully considered the evidence that he has adduced,

we have arrived at the conclusion that the searching investigation to which the acts and proceedings of the Officers of the ex-agency have been subjected, has elicited nothing to support the sweeping condemnation of their administration which was placed on record by General Dyce. We agree with you (the Governor General in Council) in thinking that Captain Macpherson has, with a very little exception, cleared himself and his administration of all General Dyce's accusations; that Mr. Cadenhead's services were valuable and highly meritorious throughout; and that with regard to that Officer and Lieutenant Pinkney, nothing has been found to say other than in their praise."

The following is an extract from Colonel Campbell's first despatch from the scene of his labours, dated 3rd September 1847.

"In Goomsur, excepting only the tract of Chokapand, there is no cause for apprehension; all is quiet, and cultivation, the unerring sign of peace, is general; and the people apparently are contented. To keep them so, and to protect them from external danger, is alone needed.

Extract from a report from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, details his plan of operations for the season 1847-48.

"Above the Ghâts there is no fear of tumult until we cross the boundary which separates Goomsur from Boad; opposition may there be expected, though of no formidable nature, until the fading light of Chokro Bissye is entirely extinguished, when attachment to the Government may be generally expected.

"The operations in the first instance must be of a protective nature, the troops should be at their respective posts early in November, while the rice crop is still on the ground; with this view I would have posts at Coorninghia above, and at Moojagudda, Gullery and Kookloobah, below the Ghâts, with the usual supports and outposts at convenient points.

"With three light detachments of regular troops and trained Sebundies, I would penetrate simultaneously to Chokapand from Tentilghur on the West, from Kookloobah and Duspullah on the East; and from Bodinghia of Chalee of Gullery.

"I shall summon the Raja of Duspullah to give his aid by defending his own frontier.

"These three detachments will act against the Bissyés of that valley and their armed followers, and while the harvest in the open country is being reaped in security, they will be prevented applying a sickle to a single blade; if this measure, enforced by active operations, fails of bringing them back to their allegiance, then I would move up the hills into the Boad Khond Maliahs with the light parties (proceeding by Tentilghur and



Seinparrah, for in these Maliahs alone can the insurgents find shelter,) leaving in my rear at Chokapand and Posera, military posts, furnished from the reserves at Russellcondah.

"In the Boad Hills, I should not expect much opposition after disposing of Chokapand and Posera. No very large force will be required to accomplish what I have proposed, which it will not fail to be observed, includes the protection of the districts subject to the Governor's Agent in Ganjam, as well as those of this agency."

On the 16th April 1848, the following account of his operations during the past season, was despatched by Lieut.-Colonel Campbell:—

"It affords me much satisfaction to be enabled to report, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, the complete and unconditional submission and surrender of the Bissyys of the valley of Chokapand on the 11th instant.

Extract from a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell—Reports the successful results of his operations during the past season, the submission of nearly every influential man in Boad. Goomsur is also tranquil. Measures in progress for making the Khond a written language.

"The whole of the troops have returned to quarters, and universal tranquillity pervades both the hills and plains.

"I will now proceed to detail, as briefly and concisely as possible, the operations of the past

season.

"I ascended the Ghâts myself on the 6th of November, with the intention of descending thence to Chokapand, and thus co-operate with the other movements.

"The movement against Chokapand was then effected. The different routes were obstructed by wide stockades and felled trees, but the insurgents were speedily driven away, and the valley was occupied by troops. The loss on our side in these operations was only one man killed in the Chalee Pass.

"It were profitless and tiresome to recount the circuitous routes we journeyed; districts unheard of and unvisited by any European were traversed over, and more gloomy pestilential regions were rarely seen. But it was of the last importance that the work in Boad should be a thorough one; at least that the foundation should be solid, and it could not have been so, unless we had shown ourselves in every part, and thus effectively demolished the last hope of being able to keep their victims or perform the sacrifice.

"With one or two exceptions, every influential man in Boad has completely submitted to the will of the Government, pledged themselves, by

swearing in their most solemn manner, on a tiger skin and some earth; henceforth to abstain from the performance of the Meriah, and, in token of their submission and obedience, delivered 235 victims, which included all those which were re-delivered in 1846, and had not been sacrificed.

"I despatched my Assistant to Chokapand, while I proceeded myself to visit Upper Goomsur. After a little delay at Chokapand and Chales, the Bissyes surrendered, and accompanied Lieutenant MacVicar to Russellcondah. Chokapand is completely tranquil as well as every other part of Upper and Lower Goomsur and of Boad.

"Inquiries regarding the number of Meriahs annually sacrificed, and the manner of sacrifice were constantly made, but no two persons agreed in this particular, nor indeed in any other. When however the language shall become a written one (which I am happy to state is likely soon to be effected, the Madras Government having been pleased on my recommendation to depute an Officer to this task, and already a vocabulary is preparing,) we shall have the means of arriving at a more distinct knowledge of the social, moral, and religious habits and customs of the Khonds."

On the 22nd July 1848, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell forwarded the following report on the district of Chinna Kimedý:—

"The Chinna Kimedý mountains are about 60 miles distant from the Raja's Fort at Pretaberry, and they compose a portion of the chain of Hills which bound the Ganjam Province to the West, forming the second of two plateaux, the first of which comprises the high tablelands of the Goomsur Khonds and of Sarungudda, while the second comprehends Bellagudda, Mahasiugghi, Beercoomah, Nowgaum, &c., belonging to the Chinna Kimedý Khonds. The highest of these mountains is reported to be 2,200 feet.

"From my present inquiries I have ascertained beyond a doubt, that over the length and breadth of the Chinna Kimedý mountains, the practice of human sacrifice prevails to a fearful extent.

"The mode of sacrifice in the Hills of Chinna Kimedý is not dissimilar to that formerly adopted in Goomsur; the tribes of Chinna Kimedý offer the sacrifice not, it is asserted, to the earth goddess alone, but to a number of deities whose favor is essential to life and happiness. Of these deities Manuki, Sereé, Boora Penno and Tadi Penno, hold the chief places, and are believed by the Khonds (so at least it is alleged) to possess supreme power not only over their land and its produce, but also over

themselves, their wives and offspring; hence the need of deprecating their wrath, which is only to be effected by the effusion of human blood. The time of sacrifice is a time of unmitigated revelry in which the women share; the victim after certain ceremonies is flung violently to the ground, where it is held or bound down, while its flesh is cut off piecemeal, and the shreds thus procured are buried in their fields. The victim, as a preparatory measure, is well drugged or stupefied with liquor. The Chinna Kimedys sell or lend Meriahs to each other. They purchase them from the Dombangoes, the same class of people as the Panwas of Goomsur. The price of a Meriah in Chinna Kimedys is always paid in kind, and thirty Kindoos (in Goomsur called Goontas) is the average cost; buffaloes, cows, pigs, goats, and brass vessels, any one of these is a Kindoo.

"The Chinna Kimedys tribes have not had the advantages of intercourse with the low country, which those of Goomsur so generally enjoy. The former never descend into the plains to attend fairs, &c., as the latter do, but conduct their little traffic in the Hills; the traders of Guddapoor, Bodagudda, &c., proceeding thither and purchasing turmeric, their sole article of barter for salt, cloth, and iron.

"I propose as soon as the rains have ceased to enter the Chinna Kimedys Maliahs in two directions, proceeding myself, *via* Souradah, Cattingia, Guddapoor, Gaoladye and Pundacole, and sending my Assistant through the Goomsur Maliahs, to descend into Kimedys from Sarungudda. Each party, I would suggest, should be accompanied, by one complete company of regulars, with an equal number as a reserve on the plains in the immediate vicinity of the passes, by which the ascent or descent may be made. This, as a precautionary measure, considering the character of the people and our utter unacquaintance with them or their country, appears absolutely requisite.

"It is by no means improbable, that resistance may be attempted; the enterprise is an arduous one, and I am desirous of providing for all contingencies. Nothing but the sternest necessity would ever cause me in this good work to meet force by force; yet I am satisfied that the resolute expression of the will of Government, and the assumption of a determined attitude, which would declare more plainly than words the fruitlessness of all attempts at opposition, is at once the most merciful and most effectual mode of accomplishing our object.

"Should we meet, as I heartily hope we may, with a fair share of success in our new enterprise, I would descend from the Chinna Kimedys Maliahs, through Sarungudda or by some other pass into the Boad

Maliahs, and after visiting the most important points would call a meeting of the Hindu Bissyes, and the Chief Moolookoos and Khonroes at Tikabully or other convenient locality, where the wishes and intentions of the Government with respect to the discontinuance of the Meriah sacrifice would be explained to them in general assembly, and those who had evinced any forwardness in aiding in its abolition, would receive some public mark of the favor of Government."

In reply to the above report, the following letter was addressed by the Government to Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell:—

Reply of the Supreme Government sanctioning the proposed measures and laying down the principles by which Colonel Campbell should be guided in carrying them into effect.

" Having every confidence in your experience and judgment, the Governor General in Council is pleased to authorize you to prosecute your measures in such a manner as may from time to time appear to you to be most expedient, keeping the Government constantly informed of your proceedings and progress.

His Lordship in Council is happy to remark, that you are fully sensible of the desire of the Government that every method of persuasion shall be tried before having any recourse to force. Your Camp and that of your Assistant should be accompanied by at least a full Company of regular Infantry, and may be supported by the near neighbourhood of another, as suggested in your letter; and you should carefully avoid exposing yourself even to temporary discomfiture by employing a force on any occasion not sufficiently strong for every purpose. If you are resisted and recourse to arms become unavoidable, the operations must be of so decisive a nature as to prevent the possibility of a protracted struggle."

On the 19th, August 1848, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell forwarded the following report from the Maliah Goomastah and Jemadar of Sebundies, respecting female infanticide among the Khond tribes of Souradah:—

" In obedience to your instructions, we proceeded to the Maliahs of Souradah to inquire about female infanticide. We understood it to be certain that all the Khonds of these Maliahs, with a few exceptions, destroy their female infants.

Report submitted by Lieut.-Colonel Campbell from the Maliah Goomastah and the Jemadar of Sebundies regarding female infanticide in Souradah; its extent, its origin and causes.

" We further understood from the Khonds of Jaudingibandy, Greenobady, Sodrobandy, &c., that in ancient times there was a man called Danko Moolookoo, who had four sons. Of these four brothers, the first three begat eight sons each, the last brother had two daughters, who could not get husbands,

and in consequence they fell into connexion with certain of their cousins. This sad circumstance induced the brothers whose sons were not guilty, to deprive the brother, whose sons had cohabited with the daughters of their uncle, of all his property. Consequently the two guilty females drowned themselves in a tank called Reda Bondho. Afterwards the first three brothers condoled with the disgraced younger brother, and concluded that their alienation from and contention with him, was occasioned by his female issue. They then determined that henceforward their female issue should be destroyed; and solemnized this determination by invoking their deities Poboody and Boora Pennoo, and since that time the practice of female infanticide has been maintained.

"These Khonds assert that formerly Mr. Russell, and lately the Collector of this district, went to their Maliahs, and at Mahadagondo desired them to discontinue this custom, since which time a few of them began to leave off the practice, and that nevertheless their female progeny did not live. About four years ago, when the Sircar again visited these Maliahs, they were desired to quit this practice, and although some of them again began to rear their female infants, yet they found that they did not live for any time. This they considered to be in consequence of their infringing the solemn oath of their ancestors. They moreover say that it becomes their manliness to marry the daughters of foreign countries only, but to give their daughters in marriage to others they consider degrading; that if they rear daughters, they, at the time of giving them in marriage to others, will be obliged to give them many presents, which they cannot afford, by reason of their poverty. Again, some say that they cannot provide food for them, and therefore they destroy their female infants, who even when let to live, will not live.

"The Khonds of Koododpunka, Jedreobandy, Keeroopoobandy, Doko-robandy, and Bhomarabandy Mootah, say that their ancestors found it impossible to afford the usual presents at the time of giving their daughters in marriage to others, and therefore began throwing them away soon after they were born, that they all followed the practice of their ancestors, until about four years ago, when the Sircar ordered it to be discontinued, but only a few let their daughters live."

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell stated that it was his intention to pass through the Maliahs bordering on Chinna Kimeddy after the rains were over, and that it would afford him great satisfaction to be able to give a more favorable account of the feelings of the inhabitants on this most interesting

subject. But he observed that he need only advert to the long continued exertions of able Officers, Civil and Military, in many civilized parts of India, for the suppression of infanticide, to enable His Lordship the Governor General in Council to appreciate the difficulties which beset the question in a jungly, mountainous, and unhealthy country, inhabited by a wild uncivilized race of Khonds, divided into tribes constantly at feud with each other.

On the 17th March 1849 Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell forwarded the following report of the results of his operations during the past season :—

Extract from a further report from Colonel Campbell. Result of his visit to the infanticidal tracts. Agreement of the people to refrain from the custom. Failure of his attempt to establish a registry of the inhabitants. Further measures to be adopted. Enters the Hills of Chinna Kimedy. Districts where human sacrifices prevail. Describes the performance of the rite. Price of Meriahs. Children of Meriah women by unknown fathers considered Meriahs. A hundred purchased individuals found in Mahasinghi, of whom only 54 were destined for sacrifice. The others were restored to the Khonds. Reasons for so doing. Rescue of 206 victims in Chinna Kimedy. Proceedings in the Boad Hills. Rescue of 100 victims. Progress of Lieutenant Frye in the acquisition of the language. Total number of victims rescued in the year. Is of opinion that the custom of female infanticide never prevailed at Deegee.

“Early in November, I proceeded to the Maliahs of Souradah, where infanticide largely prevails. In several villages which I visited, more than 231 boys under ten years of age were counted, and only 20 females; and even the Meriah girls that had been married to Khonds of the infanticidal tribes, were found to have destroyed or to have suffered their female offspring to die. The remedy for this inhuman and unnatural crime, is a perplexing and difficult question. During the past year I have endeavoured to collect authentic accounts of the rise and progress of this cruel practice; several foolish fables have been narrated to me; but on close questioning the people themselves, they one and all pleaded poverty and the influence of long transmitted tradition as their justification.

“They all signed an agreement, binding themselves henceforward to rear their female offspring. I do not place much credit on the solemn professions of semi-barbarous tribes, but I could devise no better expedient.

“I endeavoured to establish a registry of the men, their wives and children, but was compelled to abandon the attempt. On discovering my intention, the people fled in great alarm, asserting that they were sure to die, if I persisted in my design of numbering them.

“Before leaving this subject, I would observe that we must look to the diffusion of sound and useful knowledge, especially amongst the rising generation, as the principal and most effectual means of arresting the wide-spread evil. Fear may, and I hope will, for a time act as a restraint, but the permanent abolition of the practice cannot be expected from this

source. Neither will it be possible to deal with the offence in the regular course of law ; no evidence could ever be procured to ensure conviction, and punishment when inflicted must necessarily be arbitrary. Until, then, we shall be enabled to establish village Schools, and introduce other wholesome measures for the moral elevation of this people, the best means of stemming the torrent appears to me to consist in maintaining a constant intercourse and paying occasional visits ; always insisting on seeing the children, and visiting with various marks of displeasure the Chiefs of those villages where the relative number of the sexes is so disproportionate as to leave no doubt of the destruction of the females ; while, on the other hand, the preservers of their infants will be specially rewarded, receiving such presents as will plainly evince the favor of Government.

“ From the Souradah Maliahs, I directed my course to the Hills of Chinna Kimedy. The annual sacrificing season was at hand. Intelligence had reached me of a large massacre which had been resolved on, and no time was to be lost. I hastened onwards, and my sudden, though not altogether unexpected appearance, stayed the murderous proceeding.

“ In the onset I had the good fortune to conciliate and gain the confidence of the Raja Adikundo Deo, of Chinna Kimedy, the Tat Raja Rognat Deo of Guddapore, and their subordinate Chiefs ; this was a great step, for without their aid and active co-operation, I could scarcely have hoped to accomplish the object in view, save by recourse to measures of severity, painful even to contemplate.

“ Throughout the mountains, human sacrifice or female infanticide prevails, with the exception of the large and fertile districts of Sarrunguddah, Chundragerry, and Deeggee of Coradah, where happily infanticide and the immolation of human beings are unknown ; elsewhere in every direction the Meriah rite is celebrated with surpassing cruelty. The miserable victim being dragged along the fields surrounded by a crowd of half intoxicated Khonds, who, shouting and screaming, rush upon the victim, and with their knives cut the flesh piecemeal from the bones, avoiding the head and bowels, till the living skeleton, dying from loss of blood, is relieved from torture, when its remains are burnt, and the ashes mixed with the new grain to preserve it from insects. As in Boad and Goomsur so in Chinna Kimedy, the end of the sacrifice is the propitiation or deprecation of the earth god. Human blood must flow ; or the ground, at the bidding of their sanguinary deity, will refuse to yield its increase.

“ I have made very minute inquiries respecting the price paid for Meriahs in the Chinna Kimedy Maliahs, and I find that they cost from twenty-

five to forty "gunties" each, according to circumstances, a buffalo, bullock, pig, goat, a brass pot, being each reckoned a "guntie;" thus when the bargain is struck for 25 "gunties," five of each of the named animals and brass pots are paid, which at the low valuation of rupees 4 for each buffalo and bullock, rupees 2 for each pig, rupee 1 for each goat, and rupees  $1\frac{1}{2}$  for each brass vessel, would give the value of rupees 62-8 as the lowest price of a Meriah, and many of the Khonds have asserted to me that they have known 80 "gunties" paid for one; but I do not think the proportions detailed above are always adhered to, the least costly "gunties" predominating sometimes over the more expensive. I have no doubt that the great price which the Meriah costs has given rise to the practice, general in the districts of Shubhernagherry, Jedoonboo, and Bunduree, of purchasing females, who having promiscuous intercourse with the young men of the village, their children of unknown fathers, are considered Meriahs, and in due time sacrificed; the same miserable fate awaits the wretched woman when she ceases to bear children. This practice is not however followed in Kottogodah, Dengaba, Paneegoondah, or Berecote, and consequently the victims were less numerous in these districts.

"In Mahasinghee 100 purchased individuals were found, several of them had the marks of iron on their wrists and ankles, which showed that they had been fettered to prevent escape: only 54 out of the 100 were destined for sacrifice, the remainder had been bought as serfs or for adoption, either by the Hindu inhabitants, a considerable and influential body, or by the Khond Majeas.

"When I was fully satisfied that no foul play was intended towards these slaves or foster children, I ordered their re-delivery, first taking a registry of them and receiving from their several proprietors the usual security, together with a written agreement, wherein they were bound carefully to preserve these individuals and produce them whenever desired to do so by the Agent.

"I am convinced I should have excited a storm, which might not so easily have been allayed, had I determined on the removal of these slaves and adopted children. It was no easy task to procure their attendance; the victims destined for slaughter were procured with much greater facility, but I could account for this circumstance by the fact of my having last year removed from the Boad country (which marches with Mahasinghee) this description of people, and hence the fear that I should act similarly in Chinna Kimedy. Such was not my design, nor should I



have taken this class from Boad had not the lateness of the season and its attendant dangers to all ranks deprived me of the time required to institute a thorough investigation. During the present season the foster children and slaves have invariably been returned to their owners in the Boad Maliahs, many of them both in Boad and Chinna Kimeddy had formed alliance with the Khonds and Hindus; as a matter of course I always gave them the option of coming with me, if they so wished it, but the bare idea of separation elicited many unmistakeable traits of affection which satisfied me that I did well to return them. There is not the slightest cause for alarm on their behalf.

“ Two hundred and six victims were rescued from Chinna Kimeddy; I doubt not some were hidden from us, or carried to a distant part of the country. Next season we must endeavour to discover their retreat and bring them away.

“ From Chinna Kimeddy I proceeded into the Boad Hills where my Assistant, Captain MacVicar, had been travelling for some time.

“ The entire abolition of the rite of human sacrifice, which so recently prevailed throughout the extensive Maliahs of Boad, is a subject of sincere congratulation. Not one drop of blood has been shed this year on the altar of their barbarous superstition, nor was there manifested in any quarter the least disposition to break the pledge of abstinence which they had vowed last year. The whole of these Hills have been traversed and the same pleasing results exhibited in every quarter.

“ Upwards of 100 fresh victims were brought in from Boad this year, and of those that absconded from Nowgaum nearly all have been recovered. Serfs and adopted children were re-delivered to their respective owners.

“ Lieutenant Frye is labouring very zealously in the acquisition of the language. His chief difficulty lies in procuring a Khond, or indeed any one who is in the least acquainted with the religion they profess, or can give any tolerable account of their habits and manners. In the Khond dialect the alphabet has been printed, and the Meriah children at the School in Berhampore readily understand and converse with Lieutenant Frye.

“ The total number of Meriahs rescued this year is 307, making an aggregate of 547 in the two past seasons.

“ As we returned to the plains, the whole of Upper Goomsur, Chokapand, Gullery, &c. were visited; I also had my Camp at Deeges, a valley which has not been visited by an European since I was there myself in 1840. It is supposed to have been the scene of much female infanticide. I believe no such rite ever existed there. From the number of females

compared with the total population, it seems impossible that there could have been any destruction of infants. The people affirmed that the practice had never, so long back as they could recollect, obtained among them, and I believe it is quite certain that for many years it cannot have prevailed, and the report must have been imposed upon Captain Macpherson (who was never himself at Degee) by designing natives, who asserted they had saved 50 infants."

In reply to the above report, the Governor General's approbation was conveyed to Colonel Campbell of the firmness, skill and judgment which he had displayed in the performance of the arduous duties committed to him, and he was assured of the lively satisfaction which His Lordship had experienced in learning the full and happy results of his exertions.

Reply of the Supreme Government to Colonel Campbell, approving of all his proceedings.

Colonel Campbell having at this time been compelled to quit the Hills on account of ill-health, the charge of the Agency was made over to Lieutenant Frye, who started on a tour through the Maliahs of Chinna Kimeely on the 22nd December 1849, which was brought to a successful termination on the 6th April 1850.

Lieutenant Frye placed in charge of the Agency during the absence on sick leave of Colonel Campbell—A large proportion of the victims rescued by that Officer, were women with young children. His reasons for considering their restoration a step attended with safety to themselves, justice to their purchasers, advantage both morally and financially to the Government, and of sound policy as regards the abolition of the sacrifice.

A large proportion of the victims rescued by Lieutenant Frye, were women with young families, which they had borne to the parties purchasing them.

He converted this state of concubinage, which was in itself no security for the life of mother or offspring, into that of marriage, by a stipulation that the former should be considered the wife of her owner and the latter his heirs. The Paters being duly held responsible for this compact, the families were settled in the country, and Government relieved of the charge of their maintenance.

Lieutenant Frye adverting to the restoration of a large number of women with families, showed the grounds on which he considered it "a step attended with safety to themselves, justice to their purchasers, advantage to the Government in a financial and moral point of view, and further of sound policy as regarded the abolition of human sacrifice.

"The primary motive of purchase is undoubtedly the immolation of a human victim, and these women as well as their offspring, were, previous to the intervention of the Government, liable to be offered up in sacrifice, their purchasers giving them over for that end, to another party in their

village, and absenting themselves during the consummation of the rite, while the relatives would avail themselves of its efficacy by sharing in the flesh; hence, should the Government esteem it essential to the abolition of human sacrifice, it has a right to insist on the removal of every Meriah throughout the land; but were such a system pursued, very few, if any, of these families would be produced, and the object indefinitely retarded by panic, and passive, or, it might be, active resistance.

"The average of Meriahs sacrificed annually in these tracts, may be estimated at from 15 to 20, and contrasting it with the number produced before the Government in the past and present season, namely, 562, of which the larger proportion consists of families, a delay of many years might attend an attempt to remove all Meriahs, as a matter of necessity, if opposed by the people.

"Fortunately however, the necessity does not exist, since, according to the Khond system of worship, a Meriah, once shown to the Government, is considered unfit for sacrifice, there is no instance on record of a Meriah so shown, being regarded otherwise than as the ward of the Government.

"Those restored by the Agent during the last season, were invariably brought before me, and one or two cases of natural death satisfactorily accounted for.

"Several Meriahs received last year, who had escaped to the Hills, were living at large, and returned to me, solely on the ground of poverty.

"Under these circumstances, it was highly desirable to effect the safety of life, in the mode best suited to the comfort of these women, who cling to their husbands and Khond associations, and I soon found that when it was known that I had no wish to sever these families from the father, but simply to bring them within the pale of safety, the reluctance to produce them gave way, and large numbers were brought to me, affording a striking proof, I am inclined to think, that the fear of their families being torn from them is stronger than their wish to maintain the sacrifice.

"The average price of a Meriah is from Rupees 50 to 80, paid in most cases, in farm stock and household stuff, thus reducing the purchaser to destitution. Unable to pay the dower needful in contracting a marriage with his own people, the purchased girl becomes his wife and mother of his children.

"Considering the moral darkness of the Khond, and his extreme poverty, it seems only just, in breaking down his prejudices, and forbidding an observance which he has hitherto regarded as essential to the removal of evil, to avoid, if possible, the infliction of pecuniary loss.

" I need hardly point out that the Government is relieved from the burden of supporting women with young families, whose future settlement would be almost an impracticability, while the people, in relinquishing those set apart for sacrifice, and soliciting only their wives and children, appear to acknowledge the justice of the Government, equally in the retention of the one, as in the bestowal of the other.

" Independently of the pledges entered into for the abolition of the sacrifice, the restoration of these families has afforded a powerful lever towards its removal; the right of Government to carry them away being asserted, and their permanent abode in the country resting on the contingency of non-sacrifice—Safe themselves, they are regarded as pledges for the good faith of their people.

" The hands of the Paters are strengthened, since, should a disposition to sacrifice manifest itself, he will hold over the offenders *in terrorem*, the irrevocable removal of the wards of the Government and enlist their possessors on the side of obedience to its will."

On the 9th October 1850, Captain MacVicar, Officiating Agent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, submitted the following plan of operations for the ensuing season, for the sanction of the Government of India:—

Plan of operations submitted by Captain MacVicar, the Officiating Agent, for the season 1850-51.

" I propose early in November to proceed to Upper Goomsur, and to visit all the Khond Tribes therein. Having finished with the Goomsur Hills, I intend to pass over the frontier into the Boad Khond country, where Mr. Gouldsbury has been so good as to arrange that his Assistant shall meet me, when I shall be able to give him such an insight into the position of the tribes in those Hills, as the experience of the last three years enables me to afford. In company with that Gentleman, I would see all the Chiefs and people of the Boad Maliahs, and endeavour to strengthen their good resolutions with reference to abstinence from human sacrifice.

" On taking leave of the Boad districts, I propose moving towards the Kallahundy zemindarry. The zemindarry of Kallahundy is more remote and wild than that of Chinna Kimeddy, and it is reported to be about 100 miles in length and to comprize two large districts, viz., Modonapore and the extensive country of Toamoold.

" Of the prevalence of human sacrifice in these Hills, there is no doubt whatever.

" In moving towards Kallahundy from Boad, I intend journeying through the Maji Deso and Patna countries.

"While operations are thus being carried on in Boad, Goomsur and Kallahundy, I propose deputing Lieutenant Frye to the Maliahs of Chinna Kimeddy, with which he is familiar, and where his efforts were rewarded with so much success during the last season.

"On his route to Chinna Kimeddy, I intend that he should traverse the infanticidal districts of Souradah, where he would spend a short period in ascertaining the progress made in the suppression of that rite since the visit of Colonel Campbell in 1849."

The following is the account furnished by Captain MacVicar of the result of his operations during the cold season of 1850-51, dated 26th April:—

"The tribes of Upper Goomsur were first visited, and friendly intercourse was renewed with the Khonds and their Chiefs. The country enjoyed profound tranquillity and the people were contented and prosperous.

Extract from Captain MacVicar's report of the result of his proceedings. Establishment of village schools. State of Boad. Operations in Maji Deso. The mode of sacrifice there. Proceedings in Patna. The Khonds of that district. Operations in Kallahundy and in Chinna Kimeddy. His views regarding the sacrifice of human victims. Increase of female children in Souradah. 637 victims were rescued in the year.

"Here we made our first attempt to establish village schools. The opposition was intense, as might have been expected. The old men recollected ancient traditions warning them against book learning, and they foreboded gloomy things if once our schools were set afloat. I shewed them a smart, well-dressed, intelligent Khond youth, and made him read to them in their own language; this pleased them much, and I then put it to them

whether their sons would be benefited or injured by being able to read and write as the rescued Meriah now did. No effort was left untried to obtain the consent of a few men of influence. At last we succeeded in gaining the assent of one or two to send their children; and it was considered an act of no ordinary courage when Gondo Naick of Oodiagherry promised to send his son, and to allow a school to be established in his village. He soon repented his offer, but I re-assured him; a school was accordingly commenced; shortly after a second was permitted, and at the present time there are four at work, with 59 scholars divided amongst them.

"In 1850, no blood had been shed in Boad. The Khonds have renewed their pledges and received tokens of the favor of Government in reward for their good conduct.

"In Maji Deso we broke fresh ground. The country is midway between Boad and Patna, and has also communication with Chinna Kimeddy and Kallahundy.

“ The Khonds have never ceased to sacrifice, although in civilization they have far outstripped their neighbours of the Boad and Goomsur Hills. They might possibly have expected to escape our vigilance from the circumstance of their possessing so few Meriahs, the practice being to purchase immediately preceding the sacrifice, which is offered to their deity, not for the purpose of obtaining cereal produce, but for general prosperity and blessings for themselves and families.

“ The mode of performing the sacrifice, I learnt from several of their Chiefs ; it equals, if it does not exceed in cruelty, the practice in other countries. On the day of sacrifice, after the appointed ceremonies, the Meriah is surrounded by the Khonds, who beat him violently on the head with the heavy metal bangles which they purchase at the fairs and wear on these occasions. If this inhuman smashing does not immediately destroy the victim's life, an end is put to his sufferings by strangulation, a slit bamboo being used for that purpose. Strips of flesh are then cut off the back, and each recipient of the precious treasure carries his portion to the stream which waters his fields, and there suspends it on a pole. The remains of the mangled carcass are then buried, and funeral obsequies are performed seven days subsequently, and repeated one year afterwards. The few Meriahs that were in the district were delivered up, and the usual ceremony gone through of binding each Chief by oath henceforward to renounce the Meriah poojah with its connected ceremonies.

“ From Maji Deso we proceeded to Patna and commenced our operations in the districts subordinate to the Tat Raja, Lal Joogroy Singh, of Jorasinghy.

“ The Khonds gradually delivered their Meriahs and swore never again to offer human sacrifices. Their villages and Mootahs were successively traversed, we made lists of all the Chiefs, villages, houses, &c. ; so that detection will be easy in the event of their again recurring to the proscribed rite.

“ But I confess I feel very sanguine that, with proper care, the Khonds of this portion of the Patna zemindarry will never again venture to erect upon its pedestal, their now dethroned idol. They are more onward in the march of civilization than those of Boad, Goomsur, or Chinna Kimedy. They pay taxes, a fact which speaks volumes for their advancement, and are more under subjection than any we have hitherto encountered.

“ It was necessary to remove 33 Meriahs ; six were given for adoption, and subsequently, at the earnest request and on the security of the Tat Raja, nine more were added to the list of parties so bestowed. During

our stay, many hundred people came to our Hospital to be healed of their diseases; we dispensed much medicine and paid attention to the wants of all. Our visit was a source of benefit to them in several ways, and the impression left upon their minds, I trust, was a favorable one.

“Passing onwards to the next division of the zemindarry, 56 Meriahs were removed and seven were re-delivered for adoption.

“The Meriah sacrifice is performed in Sooh, Toopah, and Goakah, under infinitely diversified forms—stoning to death, beating to death with bamboos, and other modes of torture are resorted to. In the two last mentioned Mootahs, it not unfrequently happens that sacrificing and non-sacrificing Khonds are inhabitants of one and the same village. They live, I am told, in perfect harmony, interrupted only for seven days when a victim is slain, then the non-sacrificers remain within doors and never pass through the front entrance of their houses when they go to their fields, until the seven days have expired, when the funeral ceremonies of the poor victim are performed, and all re-unite as formerly. Meriah victims are procured at a cheaper rate in Patna, than elsewhere.

“On the termination of our operations in Patna, we crossed over into the Kallahundy zemindarry and pressed forward with rapidity, owing to the advanced state of the season, to Moodunpore, the residence of Koosung Singh Tat Raja, to whom the three Mootahs in which we desired to operate, Mohungherry, Oorladoney, and Tapparungah, were nominally subject.

“I have the pleasure to report that 103 Meriah victims were removed from thence and 14 re-delivered for adoption; in this number are included some Meriahs of the closely contiguous villages of Chinna Kimeddy.

“Tooah Moold, an extensive district in Kallahundy, is reserved for next season, when Mohungherry, Tapparungah, and Oorladoney, must be again traversed.

“In the season which has just closed, Lieutenant Frye entered the country of Chinna Kimeddy on the extreme South, and our operations penetrating even beyond the Southern boundary, terminated on the confines of Boad; the whole country, exclusive of three districts in the Jeypore frontier, being visited and brought under control.

“All has been done that that can be done Eastward of the Jeypore frontier, but flesh unhappily is procurable from the frontier, though no blood be shed on Kimeddy soil.

“Sacrifice is in abeyance, if not abolished. Exchange and barter of Meriahs is almost neutralized by the large number removed from the reach

of that contingency; and a good understanding, undisturbed by any untoward events, is established amongst all classes: the country in fact is ours, and it only requires vigorous operations on the sacrificing frontier, to render the rite, as regards Kimedy, one of the things of the past.

"I will here take the liberty of stating my views regarding the sacrifice of human victims, because I believe it is supposed that the cessation of the 'Meriah' or 'human' sacrifice, implies a change in the religion of the Khonds. I venture to think otherwise, and to regard as chimerical the idea of moral improvement resulting from a prohibition of human sacrifice.

"For there is abundant evidence to show that this rite once prevailed in the low country, but yielded to the superincumbent weight of foreign authority, which, whether Mussulman or European, extended to the basis of the wild hills in which it now holds sway. The blood-thirsty Doorgah, the dread personification of malevolence, is the deity propitiated by the Khonds under infinitely diversified forms and names; and when this deity is obliged to accept, as at the Doorgah Poojah of the plains, the blood of beasts, the evil of human sacrifice is at an end, although their religion has undergone no change. The 'Meriah,' offering, whether so called, or known as the 'Toki' Poojah or 'Naroboli,' is essentially the same in object as the Boli of the Doorgah Poojah, and to this day the ritual of the Khond is annually celebrated by the 'Borisooloo' or Maliah Pater at Pooramari, the capital of Chinna Kimedy, on the conclusion of the Dasserah Festival—a goat being now substituted for the more precious victim. The non-sacrificing Khond immolates the buffalo or bullock with the same ceremonial, while the sacrificing Khond offers simultaneously the human victim.

"The test of abolition is the substitution of an inferior animal as the victim; this has taken place in Boad, Goomsur, and to some extent in Patna, but as yet in few places in Chinna Kimedy, just because they can procure flesh from a neighbouring country. The Khond will surrender his victims and forbear the rite in his own person; nay, there may not be a single sacrifice throughout the length and breadth of a particular country, but if there be an inch of ground where human blood flows on the altar of this superstition, thither its votary will repair, (it is the tocsin sound which rallies every Khond) and so long as a morsel of flesh is buried in the field, the rite remains intact, though the loss of human life may be to any extent diminished. In every case therefore I hail the immolation of one bullock with more pleasure than the rescue of many Meriahs, because it affords incontrovertible evidence that the primitive rite has yielded to



the pressure from without ; but this cannot be expected in Chinna Kimedý, where the sacrifice has diminished from season to season, and the Meriahs have to a large extent been placed out of danger, whilst the rite maintains its hold on the frontier, through the importation of flesh. The Khond tracts of Chinna Kimedý may be regarded as fully gained, only when an adequate force has been directed against, and an adequate impression made upon, the extensive tracts of Jeypore.

“Owing partly to the lateness of the season when we arrived in Souradah (our detention in the distant hills of Kallahundy preventing our earlier visit), but more especially to the alarming prevalence of the small-pox which had driven the inhabitants from their villages, it was not possible to do more than address to the infanticidal tribes some words of caution, admonition and encouragement. The increase of female children testifies that the practice of destroying them has received a check, and more than this could not have been reasonably hoped for.

“The result of our labours, under God’s blessing, has been briefly as follows :—In the hitherto unvisited districts of Maji Deso, Patna, Pedda Kimedý, and the remote Hills of Kallahundy, the foundation of the suppression of the Meriah sacrifice has been laid ; our intercourse has been renewed with the Khonds of Goomsur and Boad, and the work consolidated. Schools have been established in Upper Goomsur, and a road commenced from Koinjeur to Sohpore ; great progress has been effected in the extensive tracts of Chinna Kimedý, which have been thoroughly sifted and searched ; 617 victims have been rescued ; and a brief visit has been paid to Souradah, where an interview was held with the infanticidal tribes.”

The following is a report received from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell

Extract from Colonel Campbell’s report, sketching the tour he proposed to take during the season of 1851-52.

on the 10th October 1851, who had in the interim returned to his duties :—

“I have the honor to report for the information of the President in Council, that it is my intention to take the field as early in November as the season will permit, probably about the 10th, and passing through Goomsur and a part of the Boad and Chinna Kimedý Maliahs, proceed at once to the sacrificing tribes of Jeypore, having first brought to submission three Mootahs of Chinna Kimedý, viz. Goomah, Jadoka, and Lonkagodah, bordering on Jeypore, which have not as yet been visited.

“I shall enter Jeypore by Bundaree of the Goompore talook, or by Bissem Cuttack, as may be most advantageous, and pass through the zemin-

daries of Patna and Kallahundy on my return at the end of the season."

On the 18th of November Colonel Campbell ascended the Ghâts into

Extract from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell's report of the progress of the work during the season of 1851-52. Visits Bissem Cuttack in Jeypore. Rescues a boy kept for sacrifice in the house of the "Tat" Raja. Operations in Godairy, Attack on his Camp in Lumbragaum of Godairy; its repulse and results. Visit to Sirdapore. Departure for the Mootah of Chundapore. Destruction of the village of Kendoree. Description of the "Junna" sacrifice. The sacrificing tribes of Chinna Kimediy continue true to their pledge. Female children are now generally preserved among the infanticidal tracts. 158 victims were rescued during the season. The practice of rearing Meriahs by prostitution is more general in Jeypore than in any other part of the Khond country. Meriah females eagerly sought in marriage by the Khonds of Chinna Kimediy. The Meriah families settled as cultivators, are doing well; their habits.

the Khond Country, passed through the heart of the Goomsur and Chinna Kimediy Maliahs, and from thence through an unexplored country in a South-Westerly direction to Bissem Cuttack of Jeypore.

"I learnt with much satisfaction from concurrent testimony from various sources, that with the exception of two small Mootahs, Ambodala, and Kankabady, bordering on Chinna Kimediy and Mohungherry of Kallahundy, the Meriah sacrifice had ceased for more than two generations; but that some of the villages still participated in the cruel rite by procuring flesh of Meriahs, principally from the neighbouring districts of Ryabejee of Jeypore.

"From the two small Mootahs above named, four Meriahs were removed; all, I have reason to believe, that the people had in their possession.

"In the house of the Tat Raja, I discovered a youth that had been purchased by him for sacrifice, and who had undergone all the ceremonies preparatory to his immolation to the god of battles 'Manicksoro,' in the event of his coming into collision with the troops of his superior of Jeypore.

"This sacrifice is called 'Junna,' and is I believe performed by the Hill Rajas generally on important occasions, such as going to battle. I know it was performed by the Raja of Goomsur in 1835, when on the eve of rebellion against the Government.

"On the 17th December we left Bissem Cuttack for Ryabejee in an Easterly direction, from which place sixty-nine Meriahs were eventually rescued. I found it necessary to push for the open country of Godairy, where the Khonds, after some little evasion and procrastination, delivered up their Meriahs, to the number of forty-six, and readily entered into the usual agreement to abandon the rite of human sacrifice for ever.

"From Godairy I proceeded in a North-Easterly direction to Lumbragaum of Malo Mootah of Godairy. Lumbragaum is one of a cluster of six villages which are generally at feud with each other; but on the occasion of

my visit they were closely united to repel the retribution which they supposed I had come to exact for the murder, in which all were more or less concerned, of three messengers of the Negoban or manager of Godairy, who, under cover of being the bearers of a proclamation respecting the Meriah, had extorted goats, buffaloes, brass vessels, &c., from the Khonds.

“ I used my best endeavours for several days to undeceive these wild people, but either they did not comprehend me, or there was some underhand influence at work, which I could not detect. After repeated threats and demonstrations, emboldened by the smallness of the force at my disposal, and excited by liquor, about 300 of them attacked my Camp, shouting and yelling more like demons than men, supported by as many more uttering cries of encouragement from the rocks and jungle which surrounded the Camp; but a steady and resolute advance soon drove them off, a few shots over their heads, which did no harm, completed the rout, and we pursued them rapidly over the mountains till they were lost in the jungle dells on the other side.

“ The next day delegates arrived from the several villages of the confederation; and the day following all came, made their submission, and delivered up their Meriahs.

“ The whole population of the neighbouring Mootahs, including those of Chinna Kimeddy, were intensely watching the result of the struggle at Lumbragaum, the successful termination of which exercised a most favorable influence on the proceedings which followed in the large Mootah of Sirdapore.

“ From Lumbragaum I proceeded in a Southerly direction to Sirdapore. The people do not rear Meriahs as in Ryabejee and Chunderpore, but they procure the flesh of Meriahs from the two last mentioned places, and formerly from Chinna Kimeddy. They also when a sacrifice is considered necessary, unite and purchase a victim for the occasion; but at once, without any hesitation, they agreed to abandon the rite and all participation in it for ever.

“ From Godairy I marched due North by Seergodah and Bejeepore to the Mootah of Chunderpore, one of the strongholds of the Meriah, second only to Ryabejee.

“ The people of Bundare, one of the principal Khond villages of this Mootah, refused to come to me or to send me their Meriahs. I knew that a human victim had been sacrificed about a month previous to my first arrival. Even for this great crime I promised that they would receive

pardon if they came in and delivered up their Meriahs ; but they resisted all my efforts to conciliate them, and eventually fled, with every thing they could remove, to their concealed fastnesses in the mountains. These I endeavoured to discover, but without success ; the lateness of the season forbade a longer delay, and most reluctantly I caused the village to be destroyed, as affording the only hope of saving the lives of three persons, who, if the village had been left standing, would certainly have been sacrificed on my leaving the place. The people had not the excuse of ignorance to plead, for in the season of 1848-49, I took away from them, eight Meriahs ; and moreover successful evasion would, if unpunished, have set a most injurious example to the whole sacrificing population.

“ The sacrifice which took place at Bundare is called ‘ Junna,’ and is peculiar to the Khonds of Jeypore, for I never met with it in any other part of the Khond Country. It is performed as follows, and is always succeeded by the sacrifice of three human beings, two to the sun, to the East and West of the village, and one in the centre, with the usual barbarities of the Meriah. A stout wooden post about six feet long is firmly fixed in the ground, at the foot of it a narrow grave is dug, and to the top of the post the victim is firmly fastened by the long hair of his head ; four assistants hold his outstretched arms and legs, the body being suspended horizontally over the grave, with the face towards the earth. The officiating ‘ Junna’ or Priest standing on the right side repeats the following invocation, at intervals hacking with his sacrificing knife the back part of the shrieking victim’s neck :—‘ O mighty Manicksoro, this is your festal day.’ To the Khonds the offering is ‘ Meriah,’ to Kings ‘ Junna.’ On account of this sacrifice you have given to kings, kingdoms, guns, and swords. The sacrifice we now offer, you must eat, and we pray that our battle-axes may be converted into swords, our bows and arrows into gunpowder and balls ; and if we have any quarrels with other Tribes, give us the victory. Preserve us from the tyranny of Kings and their Officers.’ Then addressing the victim : ‘ That we may enjoy prosperity, we offer you a sacrifice to our god ‘ Manicksoro,’ who will immediately eat you, so be not grieved at our slaying you. Your parents were aware when we purchased you from them for sixty Rupees, that we did so with intent to sacrifice you, there is therefore no sin on our heads, but on your parents. After you are dead we shall perform your obsequies.’ The victim is then decapitated, the body thrown into the grave, and the head left suspended from the post till devoured by wild beasts. The knife remains fastened

to the post till the three sacrifices already mentioned have been performed, when it is removed with much ceremony. The knife and post smeared with blood are now in my possession.

“ Leaving Bundare on the 24th February, I passed through the secondary range of Hills of Chinna Kimedya, inhabited by sacrificing Tribes, and was gratified to find, that they continued true to their pledge of forsaking the Meriah.

“ The lateness of the season and the difficulty of procuring a sufficiency of water for my Camp, preventing my visiting the infanticidal Tribes; but many of the Chiefs and a great number of the Meriah females who were married to Khonds of these tracts, visited me at Souradah with their children, and from them I learnt with satisfaction that female Children were now generally preserved, and in cases where they were destroyed, it was done with great secrecy, and not openly as in former times. An Officer of the Sebudies, well acquainted with the infanticidal Tribes and employed in superintending them, confirms this report.

“ The number of real Meriahs rescued this season amounts to 158 and the number of Poossias\* registered distinct from the Meriahs, 16. The practice of rearing Meriahs by bringing up women to prostitution is more general in Jeypore than in any other part of the Khond Country, hence the great number of women and their children rescued. They are not as a general rule sacrificed in the villages wherein they were born, lest a father should be instrumental to the sacrifice of his own child, which would not be acceptable to the earth goddess, the victim not having been ‘ purchased with a price,’ but they are exchanged, when a victim is needed, with children similarly begotten in a neighbouring Mootah, and the mothers are eventually sacrificed when they become old.

“ To the Westward of Bissem Cuttack, I was informed that the Meriah had been suppressed, about the same time that it was discontinued at Bissem Cuttack; but that when within their reach some of the villagers procured Meriah flesh for their fields. To be efficacious, the flesh must be deposited before the sun sets on the day of the sacrifice; and to insure this, instances are related of a piece of human flesh having been conveyed an incredible distance by relays of men in a few hours. But the prevalence or otherwise of the Meriah to the Westward and to the North, can only be ascertained with certainty by a visit to those countries, which I hope to accomplish next season.

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\* A Meriah female and her offspring by a Khond, who adopts them as his wife and children.

"The Meriah females have been more eagerly sought after by the Khonds of Chinna Kimeddy and Souradah, than formerly; several women accompanied by their children, for it was impossible to separate them have been disposed of in marriage to Khonds of suitable age and means, on the usual securities of the Hindu or Khond Chiefs, when the latter were well known to me. Others have been married to Meriah youths settled as ryots in Goomsur and elsewhere; some have been restored to relatives; and 18 families, amounting to 53 persons of all ages, have been located as cultivators in the long deserted lands of Mahasinghee, where a Bungalow is in the course of completion; and about 100, who averred they were not Meriahs, and I saw no reason to doubt the assertion, have been permitted at their earnest solicitation to return to their respective countries; in every case accompanied by strict injunctions to the Rajas and Chiefs to see them established and to watch over them.

"The several Meriah families settled as cultivators in Goomsur, are doing very well, about a third of the number (those originally established) have this year for the first time paid the rent of their land. From another third the full amount was collected, but remitted to support them till next harvest and for seed; and the third, more recently settled, are maintained at the expense of the State. By the next harvest, I anticipate that nearly all will be in a condition to support themselves. They are generally very idle, restraint of any kind is distasteful to them, and they miss their favorite 'toddy,' and the many esculent roots and fruits which abound in the mountain forests."

On the 13th April 1853, Colonel Campbell submitted the following report of the resumption of his operations during the season that had just closed:—

"Early in November I ascended the Ghâts and passed through a considerable portion of the Souradah infanticidal tracts, and personally examined into the condition of the people and ascertained the number of female children in each family, of and under the age of five years. Having thus obtained a certain amount of information on which I could rely, I deputed a practised and intelligent man of my establishment to go leisurely from village to village, count the number of houses or families in each, and the number of female children under five years of age in each family, and as an inducement to the

Extract from a further report from Colonel Campbell, dated 13th April 1853. Visits the infanticidal tribes of Souradah. Favorable results of a minute inquiry. Proceeds thence to Chinna Kimeddy. Operations in Toopungah. Attack on his Camp, its repulse, good effects thereof. Tour through the Mootahs of Jeypore, thence to Kulahundy of Nagpore, for the purpose of visiting Tooahmool. Reasons for

his non-success. Operations in the districts of Patna and Chinna Kimeddy. State of Boad. Importance of the road between Koinjeur and Sohnpore. Extreme limits of the sacrificial tracts. Summary of operations. Condition of the Meriahs settled as cultivators.

mothers to produce their offspring, I gave him a supply of colored glass beads, which are greatly prized, for distribution among the female children.

The result of this minute inquiry shows a registry of 901 females under five years of age in 2,149 families; and clearly proves the rapid decrease of the barbarous practice of female infanticide. From my

own personal observation, I can assert that in many villages where there are now several female children, in 1848-49 there was not one to be found.

"From the infanticidal tribes, I passed into the country of the sacrificing tribes of Chinna Kimeddy, where I succeeded in procuring the submission of the only Mootahs in Chinna Kimeddy that were in opposition to us, Toopungah and Parighur : they had been frequently summoned, but had always refused to come, and the men of Toopungah returned insulting replies. From Parighur four Meriahs were delivered to me and fourteen Poossias ; these last, to the very great contentment of the people, being the wives originally purchased as Meriahs by the respective fathers of the present Chiefs, and children of three of the Principal Chiefs of the Mootah, were at once restored ; and I learnt, that it was from fear that these cherished ones would be removed, that they were deterred from earlier making their submission, and pledging themselves, as they did to me with much apparent sincerity, to abandon the sacrifice of human beings for ever.

"A very different spirit actuated the people of Toopungah, inhabiting a rugged country very difficult of access. No member of this agency had ever visited them, though they had been repeatedly summoned through the Hindu Chief. They were determined to fight, and being a turbulent set, and having a high character for courage among the neighbouring tribes, it was absolutely necessary for the success of our operations, endangered by this bold defiance, to bring the question to an issue.

"After a toilsome march, I arrived with a party of Sebundies early in the morning at the principal cluster of villages of Toopungah, with the object of holding personal communication with the people before they had time to intoxicate themselves with 'toddy.' I endeavoured to parley with them, but the only reply I received was threats of destruction, if I did not instantly quit their territory, and accordingly when the men of the tribe summoned together by the sounding of horns had assembled, they came pouring down upon me in several parties through the jungle, evidently bent on trying the question with their battle-axes. In self-defence, and much against my will, I was compelled to fire, when the men

of Toopungah fled, leaving their villages, from which all property had been removed some days before, to the mercy of the excited followers of the Hindu Chief, who accompanied me, and who with their match-locks set fire to three small villages.

“ Although I regretted the premeditated and unprovoked attack made upon me by the people of Toopungah, the result has had a marked and decided effect, not only on Toopungah, the Chiefs of which made unconditional submission and delivered up their Meriahs, but on the whole of the sacrificing tribes of Chinna Kimeddy. Many of the Khond Chiefs expressed the greatest satisfaction at the punishment with which the audacious tribe of Toopungah had been visited, and all the Hindu Chiefs when afterwards assembled at Mahasinghee, were unanimous in declaring that nothing had been wanting for the final suppression of the Meriah sacrifice, but an unmistakable manifestation of the determination of Government to put an end to it. They could now, they said, speak with authority to their Khonds, and point to Toopungah as a warning to those who opposed the orders of Government for the suppression of the Meriah.

“ At Bundare of Jeypore, I found the people anxiously looking for my arrival, uncertain as to their reception, in consequence of the sacrifice perpetrated by them last year, and the destruction of their village, as the only means of averting the fate of three victims in their possession doomed for sacrifice. They soon, however, gained confidence, and came to me with their Meriahs, throwing themselves on the mercy of the Government. Of the three victims prepared for sacrifice, one had made his escape to my Camp, another had died, and the third was delivered to me. Two more who were brought, were given by me in marriage, at the request of the Chiefs, to two young Khonds of the village.

“ I passed through the Mootahs of Chunderpore, Ryabejee, and Godairy, the strongholds of the Meriah in Jeypore, and out of two hundred and twenty Khond villages, only one Chief, Sorunga Majee of Dadajoriga of Ryabejee, refused to produce his Meriahs, who are now said to be his wife and child; but the true cause of his flight was fear, for he alone of all the Khond Chiefs of Jeypore performed the Meriah sacrifice last year, after I had left the country. I could not discover his place of concealment, but his relatives have become security for him.

• “ From Godairy I proceeded to Bissem Cuttack, where I found the Khonds true to their pledge. From thence I pursued my course to Kallahundy of Nagpore with the purpose of visiting Tooahmool, a small Hill zemindarry tributary to Kallahundy, the Chief of which is now



under restraint at Nagpore, charged, among other offences, with encouraging or conniving at the performance of the Meriah sacrifice among his Khonds : but I found Tooahmool in a state of anarchy, without any recognized authority, and the people so exasperated against the Raja of Kallahundy, that it would have been worse than useless my attempting to enter the country for Meriah suppression purposes.

“ From Kallahundy I passed through a considerable portion of the Khond country of the Patna zemindarry. From Patna I entered the small Hill zemindarry of Mudunpore, tributary to Kallahundy, and found the country laid waste, and the people in rebellion against the Prince of Kallahundy, but they professed obedience to the British Government, and delivered up the last of their Meriahs.

“ From this tributary estate of Kallahundy, I passed through part of the Khond country of Chinna Kimeddy to Mahasinghee.

“ From Mahasinghee I moved by Bulleeguddah into the Boad Maliahs, and learnt with very great satisfaction, that the Meriah sacrifice was not even spoken of among the Khonds, and that the whole land had repudiated the cruel rite, and that there had not been a human sacrifice since 1847, which I believe to be perfectly true.

“ I took the opportunity of examining a considerable portion of the road which has just been finished between Koinjeur on the borders of Goomsur and Sohnpore on the Mahanuddee. It is difficult fully to appreciate the value of this road, not only as a line of traffic into the interior, but also to the inhabitants of the Chinna Kimeddy and of Boad. Already is the road well frequented by Brinjaries carrying cotton to the coast. About 20,000 bullocks have passed this season, and these will return loaded with salt. The Khond inhabitants, instead of waiting in their villages for the arrival of the travelling merchants, who at certain seasons ascend the mountains to purchase turmeric, oil seeds, and other produce, now carry these articles to the weekly market at Doi near Sohnpore, obtain better prices, and purchase what they may require at more reasonable rates. I met several large parties of Khonds and Ooriahs going to the fair, and among them a good many women, who, until the opening of the road, had never ventured on the journey.

“ I have ascertained that the extreme limits of the tracts within which the Meriah sacrifice is known, are from  $19^{\circ} 20'$  to  $20^{\circ} 30'$  North, and from  $83^{\circ} 15'$  to  $84^{\circ} 30'$  East ; but within these limits are several extensive districts where human sacrifice has never been practised, at least within the memory of man, such as the infanticidal tribes of

Souradah and Chinna Kimedý, the non-sacrificing tribes of Surrunguddah, Koortoolee, Nowgaum, and Degée, and the numerous Ooriah communities found in almost all the most fertile parts of the Khond country. In Jeypore and Kallahundy, the Principal Hindu Chiefs, on great occasions, such as going out to fight, building a fort, or re-building an important village, were in the habit of propitiating the goddess Manicksoro by the immolation of three human victims called 'Junna.' Of this class eight have been discovered in Jeypore, and the Chiefs to whom they belonged made no secret of the purpose for which they were kept; and at once produced them, and in the presence of their Khonds and Ooriah followers abjured the rite for ever.

"This season every district, every Mootah of Chinna Kimedý and of Jeypore has been visited, and all the Khond Chiefs of these districts and Mootahs, with two exceptions, have delivered up their Meriahs, and have given their adhesion to the pledge of renouncing the sacrifice of human beings for ever. I do not know of the existence of a Meriah in Chinna Kimedý or Jeypore, I believe they have all been removed. The exceptions are Sarunga Majee and one of the Chiefs of Toopungah, who on the destruction of his village, fled with his family and two supposed Meriahs far into the mountains, and could not be found when I left the country, but his brother Chiefs became responsible for him.

"In Patna and in Boad I consider the Meriah sacrifice to have been thoroughly suppressed, and I do not hesitate to state my conviction that also in Chinna Kimedý and in Jeypore, the sacrifice is at an end. The only place that now remains to be operated upon, is the small zemindarry of Tooahmool, where if the unhappy dissensions between its Chiefs, Sree Lutchun Singh and his superior Tutty Narain Deo, could be composed, they could at once, without any assistance, effectually put a stop to the sacrifice.

"The Meriahs settled as cultivators, are now, I am happy to say, acquiring regular habits of industry; about thirty of them were employed throughout the season on the Sohnpore road; and those given to the Missionaries for instruction, are being gradually settled as cultivators and artisans in situations where they can support themselves. Some of the Meriah girls brought up at the same school, are married to these young men, and others to men of suitable age and condition."

The following is the last report received from Colonel Campbell, dated 9th February 1854, giving a narrative of his proceedings during the past season :—

" All the sacrificing tribes of Khonds on the lower and upper ranges of the Chinna Kimedý mountains have been visited by my assistant and myself; not one deserted village was met with or heard of; nor did a single case of evasion occur throughout the whole of these extensive tracts. The Khonds assembled in our respective camps in crowds almost as soon as we reached our ground, and, with a freedom never before evinced by them, selling or exchanging with our people the produce of their fields for money, beads, or pieces of cloth. After they had completed their barter, the chiefs of Mootahs and villages with their people assembled round our tents, heard all that we had to say respecting the Meriah, and listened attentively to the reading of the proclamation in the Khond dialect forbidding the sacrifice of human beings, and permitting them if so inclined to immolate animals instead. Each chief was invited freely to express his sentiments on this important subject, which many did without hesitation saying, that when we first came among them they were like beasts in the jungle, doing as their fathers had done before them; they now clearly comprehended that our only object in coming was to stop human sacrifice; not a fowl or any thing else were taken, not even a fence was injured by the people of the camp, their fields produced crops as good as formerly and sickness was not more prevalent, it was no use resisting the orders of the great Sircar; their Meriahs had been all removed, moreover they cost much money and they were now of one mind determined never more to have any thing to do with human sacrifice. In two or three places it was asked 'what are we to say to the deity?' they were told to say whatever they pleased, when the spokesman repeated the following formula. 'Do not be angry with us, O Goddess! for giving you the blood of beasts instead of human blood, but vent your wrath on that gentleman who is well able to bear it, we are guiltless.' Seventeen Meriahs only have been found this season in the whole of Chinna Kimedý, and these were delivered up spontaneously by their owners. Nine Meriahs who had deserted from the villages on the plains wherein they were located were either given up or surrendered themselves because their former owners would not receive them; and thirty-seven women termed Poossias (with their children), who had been purchased as wives, when very young, were registered and restored to their husbands on the usual

Report from Colonel Campbell dated 9th Feb. 1854. Narrates his proceeding amongst the sacrificing tribes on the Mountain ranges of Chinna Kimedý. His gratifying reception in the Khond tracts of Jey-pore. Operations in Tooahmool and Kallahundy. Conduct of the Tat Rajahs. Enlarges on the success which has attended the agency, and the valuable services of his assistants. Has ascertained that female infanticide is not unknown among the sacrificing tribes of Khonds.

security of the Khond and Ooriah chiefs. I succeeded in effecting the capture of Booda Moonda, a notorious seller of children, who last year sold his own daughter, Ootooma, a child of six years old, for sacrifice to the Khonds of Bondigaum of Chinna Kimedy; but who was happily rescued early in the morning of the day appointed for her immolation. She is now, with other rescued Meriahs, under the care of the Missionaries at Berhampore, and is a child of rare intelligence.

"In the Khond Tracts of Jeypore my reception was most gratifying. I visited my old opponents of Lumbragaum, Bapella, and Bundari, and found them as contented and happy as their neighbours of Chinna Kimedy; they with all the Khonds of Jeypore declaring their fidelity to the pledge they had given, and their resolution to have nothing more to do with the sacrifice of human beings. Five Meriah women who had been given in marriage to Khonds of the Sooroodah infanticidal tribes, and who had fled from their new husbands, were given up; and a Meriah youth who escaped from me last season was brought by his owner, Indroomooni, Majee, of his own accord, who reproached me for not taking better care of him, for said the Majee 'he has undergone the ceremonies preparatory to sacrifice; take him away with you.' There has been no sacrifice, nor attempt to sacrifice, in Jeypore since March 1852, nor in Chinna Kimedy since November of the same year.

"From Jeypore I passed in a North-Westerly direction through the zemindarries of Ryaghur and Singapore, a fine open level country, well cultivated, with a population of Khonds and Teloogoos. The Khonds are here a civilized race, very industrious, and pay rent for their land like their Teloogoo neighbours; they acknowledged having occasionally procured part of the flesh of a human victim from Jeypore and Tooamool, but for many years no sacrifice had taken place among themselves. Through Singapore and Ryaghur several thousand Brinjary bullocks pass from the interior to the coast with oil seeds, wheat and cotton, and return laden with salt.

"From Singapore I sent my assistant through the hilly country of Bundasir of Kalahundy inhabited by sacrificing tribes of Khonds, while I turned towards Tooahmool, nearly West. Sickness had been for some days on the increase in my camp, and at the second march into the mountain ranges of Tooahmool increased greatly; the Doctor in Medical charge and the Officer Commanding my escort of Sepoys being added to the list, with severe fever. I was therefore compelled, while it was yet possible, to procure carriage for the sick, and send them all back to the low country, which I am glad to say they reached in safety.

"Tooahmool is on the table-land of a high range of mountains running about 32 miles East and West, and about 14 miles broad. The inhabitants subsist on different kinds of maize grown on the slopes of the hills, which are almost all cleared of jungle and cultivated to the top; they have very little rice cultivation.\* I found the Khonds tractable and well disposed, though at first somewhat alarmed at the novel sight of Elephants, &c. where such things had never before been seen; but they soon gained confidence, and came to me in crowds, men, women, and children. I spoke to them as I have always addressed the Khonds, and explicitly told them they would no longer be permitted to sacrifice human beings. It was ascertained beyond a doubt that the Khonds of Tooahmool did not rear Meriahs, but when a sacrifice was required they applied to the Tat Raja, who sold them some unfortunate person accused of sorcery for sums varying from rupees twenty to fifty; the Chiefs of villages in the presence of their people signed the pledge, with the usual solemnities, to forsake the Meriah rite for ever; they declared that no sacrifice had taken place since the removal of their Tat Raja a prisoner to Nagpore about 3 years past, where he lately died; they expressed their satisfaction at the honor of a visit from a high Officer of Government; they had heard that I had visited the Chinna Kimesy and Jeypore Khonds, and were now satisfied that they were thought worthy of equal consideration.

"At Koorlapaut, a zemindarry of Kallahundy on the same mountain range as Tooahmool, the Khonds came to me with perfect confidence; they made the same statement with respect to the Meriah as was given by the Khonds of Tooahmool, and which the Tat Raja, Poroshootum Sing, confirmed; no person it was stated had been sold since human sacrifice had been forbidden and none would ever be sold again.

"My Assistant, Lieutenant McNeill, who traversed the Khond mountains of Bundaser of Kallahundy, found the Khonds most submissive and tractable. When they required a sacrifice they purchased a victim from some distant country, but the Raja of Kallahundy having forbidden the Meriah, and twice punished them very severely, once for sacrificing, and a second time for attempting to sacrifice, they were resolved to give it up, and now that the great Government had sent an officer and troops to them they were confirmed in that resolve.

"I had been told, but I did not credit the fact, that the Tat Rajas of Tooahmool, Koorlapaut, and Mohulpatna, sold human victims for sacrifice to their Khonds as a source of revenue, and that without the permission of these chiefs their Khonds dare not sacrifice. There is now no doubt on the subject, and I have addressed very positive orders to the Pat and Tat

Rajas through their superior of Kallahundy, forbidding the savage practice, and warning them of the very serious consequences to themselves of disobedience to the orders of Government.

“ To the late Raja of Kallahundy, Futtu Narrain Deo, who died in October last, great credit is due, for his earnest and effectual efforts for the suppression of human sacrifice in the Hill zemindarries under his authority above enumerated ; and all that was required for the perfecting of his work was the personal communication which I have now had with his Khonds, impressing them with the wholesome conviction that not only are they responsible to their Raja, but also to the Government whose troops have penetrated all their fastnesses. .

“ It has always been my policy on first entering a new country to conciliate the established Ooriah chiefs. Of the sixty-five Bissyees and Paters of Khond Districts in Boad, Chinna Kimedey, Jeypore, and Kallahundy, with whom I have come in contact, I have not removed one. As a remarkable instance of the value of the hearty co-operation of the Ooriah Chiefs, I may mention the conduct of the Tat Raja of Bissemcuttack who, when informed that his Khonds were preparing to take part in a sacrifice which was perpetrated in March 1852, in Ryabejee of Jeypore, peremptorily forbade their going, and plainly told them, if they went, he would waylay them on their return with his paiks, and shoot every man he could find. Not one went to the place of sacrifice. They had for some years been weaned from sacrificing in their own Mootahs, but procured the flesh of Meriahs from Chinna Kimedey and Ryabejee.

“ It affords me heartfelt satisfaction to be able to report thus satisfactorily of the suppression. I will not presume to say of the complete suppression, for that will depend on our future supervision and watchfulness of the Meriah rite in Goomsur, Boad, Chinna Kimedey, Jeypore, Kallahundy, and Patna. If it should be found, which I doubt, to have a footing on any unvisited portions of Gondwana or Telingana the same measures which I have hitherto so successfully pursued will soon bring it to an end. I could say much of the influence this Agency has attained among all classes of the Hill Tribes ; to this hour the Tribes of Goomsur, transferred four years since to the Ganjam Agent, are with difficulty induced to take their grievances beyond my Cutcherry. While I thus record these happy results, I may be permitted to bring before the Most Noble the Governor General in Council the valuable services rendered by that able, active, and zealous officer Captain McVicar, who unflinchingly pursued his good work till fever, in its most

dangerous form, compelled him to seek a change of climate ; to Captain Frye also, whose attainments as a linguist are most remarkable, the cause of Meriah suppression is much indebted ; and from Lieut. McNeil I have received zealous assistance.

“ I have endeavoured to ascertain the state of the population among the sacrificing tribes of Khonds with reference to the comparative numbers of male and female inhabitants in each village. The disparity between the sexes shows, I am sorry to say, that female infanticide is not unknown among the sacrificing tribes of Khonds ; indeed several of these people confessed to me that they occasionally did destroy their female offspring.

“ In the Appendix is a return showing the number of Meriahs rescued, and the number of Poossias registered since 1837, and also the number of human victims sacrificed annually in the several countries wherein the cruel rite was observed. My inquiries on this subject embraced a period of fifty years, frequently repeated in different parts of the countries named, and the information obtained by me in each carefully compared.”

The following observations on the above proceedings are extracted from a Despatch of the Hon'ble Court, 14th June 1854 :—

“ In conducting their operations and dealing with the rude inhabitants of the country, the Officers of the Agency have experienced no ordinary difficulties, and appear to have shown a wise discretion and a clear perception of the best method to secure success. They have maintained an attitude of firmness without unnecessary resort to forcible measures. They have calmed angry feelings by conciliation, and have opposed rational persuasion to popular prejudice and error. They have substituted confidence by temperate explanation in personal conferences. The means of conciliation have been so well directed in the majority of instances, as not only to overcome the opposition, but to obtain the co-operation of the leading men.

“ Viewing the Meriah operations as a whole, they have been highly successful, and are creditable to the Officers concerned ; nor is it in measures of repression alone that we see cause for present satisfaction and future hope.

“ It is obvious that the germs of an ultimate civilization have been planted in the country, and we may entertain a confident hope that the advance of the population towards a higher social condition will be in an accelerated ratio of progress.”

## APPENDIX.

*Statement of Meriahs rescued and Poossias Registered, since the first establishment of the Agency for the suppression of Meriah Sacrifices, to the 13th April 1858.*

ZEMINDARIES AND SEASONS.	Meriahs Rescued.			Poossias Registered and Restored.			Total Meriahs.		Total Poossias.			REMARKS.
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Total.	
From Boad in 1846-1847, .....	14	27	41	16	1	17						
From Ditto in 1847-1848, .....	111	94	205	26	9	35						
From Ditto in 1848-1849, .....	40	29	69	24	9	33						
From Ditto in 1850-1851, .....	16	14	30	7	2	9						
From Chinnas Kinedy in 1848-1849, .....	58	93	151	36	19	55	181	164	73	21	94	Total from Boad.
From Ditto Ditto in 1849-1850, .....	110	90	200	92	134	226						
From Ditto Ditto in 1850-1851, .....	86	117	203	75	133	208						
From Ditto Ditto in 1851-1852, .....	14	9	23	4	1	5						
From Ditto Ditto in 1852-1853, .....	37	35	72	34	38	72	305	344	241	325	566	Total from Chinnas Kinedy.
From Muddumpore of Kallahundy in 1850-1851, .....	33	26	59	4	8	12						
From Ditto Ditto in 1852-1853, .....	9	4	13	15	10	25	42	30	19	18	37	Total from-Muddumpore of Kallahundy.
From Patna in 1850-1851, .....	2	0	2	62	32	94	2	0	62	32	94	Total from Patna.
From Jerpore in 1851-1852, .....	48	82	130	12	7	19						
From Ditto in 1852-1853, .....	29	33	62	2	1	3	77	115	14	8	22	Total from Jerpore.
Grand Total of Meriahs and Poossias to the present date, .....							1260	.....	813	.....	813	

OFFICE OF THE AGENT IN THE HILL TRACTS OF ORISSA, }  
 Camp Berhampore, 13th April 1858.

(Signed) J. CAMPBELL, Lieut.-Col.,  
 Agent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa.



*Statement showing the manner in which the Meriahs rescued from 1846 to the 13th of April 1853, have been disposed of.*

PARTICULARS.	SEX.		Total.
	Males.	Females.	
In private service, .....	3	0	3
Given in Marriage to eligible persons, ... ..	0	247	247
Deserted, .....	63	14	77
Died, .....	69	79	148
Supporting themselves by labour, ... ..	10	8	18
Employed in the public service, .....	12	0	12
Sent to Missionary Schools at Berhampore and Balasore, .....	116	84	200
Given for adoption to persons of character, .....	112	55	167
<i>Settled as Ryots.</i>			
	Males.	Females.	Total.
At 1 Tickabully, .....	1	0	1
„ 2 Jodabondo, .....	14	14	28
„ 3 Bahadajolo, .....	13	7	20
„ 4 Sooropadah, ... ..	17	10	27
„ 5 Sedapodro, .....	46	28	74
„ 6 Gullery, .....	18	7	25
„ 7 Muskabady, .....	11	1	12
„ 8 Bramanapodro, .....	10	3	13
„ 9 Mahasinghee, .....	16	14	30
„ 10 Moddopore, .....	24	15	39
„ 11 Chundragherry, .....	8	1	9
„ 12 Oopur Bago, ... ..	17	11	28
<i>Remaining to be settled.</i>			
At Souradah, ... ..	16	43	59
Meriahs unable to work from old age, blindness, &c., and supported by the State, ... ..	11	12	23
Grand Total, .....	607	653	1260

(Signed) J. CAMPBELL, Lieut.-Col.,  
Agent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa.

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- in concert with Lieutenant Hicks. Recommends for adoption the following suggestions of Lieutenant Hicks : 1st,—to keep a native agent at Boad : 2nd,—that he should be allowed on his next visit a guard under a European Officer : 3rd,—that a European Sergeant be placed at his disposal to superintend the cutting of a passable road through the Burmoole defile : 4th,—that a person versed in survey be deputed to assist Lieutenant Hicks in making a topographical survey of Duspullah and Boad, .. .. . 78
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